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## Near East/South Asia Report

**FBIS**

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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11 December 1984

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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

ARAB DEVELOPMENT FUND, BAHRAIN SIGN LOAN AGREEMENT

LD211223 Kuwait KUNA in English 1014 GMT 21 Nov 84

[Text] Kuwait, 21 Nov (KUNA)--A loan agreement was signed here Wednesday between Bahrain and the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development under which the fund will provide Bahrain with three million KD (10 million dollars) to cofinance Bahrain's share in the Gulf marine cable project (Bahrain-Kuwait).

The agreement was signed by Bahrain's Finance and National Economy Minister Ibrahim 'Abd al-Karim currently visiting Kuwait for the purpose on behalf of the Bahraini Government.

The fund's chairman and managing director Dr Mohammad al-Imadi signed on behalf of the fund.

A press release by the fund said that the project aims at building a land network for telecommunications between Bahrain and Kuwait.

It added that the project also helps to ease pressure on telephone and telecommunications services between the two countries as well as with the rest of Gulf States, and between them and a number of Asian states such as Pakistan and India.

The project is expected to be finalized in 1988 with a capacity of about 1,200 telephone circuits and a total length of 520 kilometers.

Total casts of the project are estimated 14 million KD, shared equally by Kuwait and Bahrain, the statement added.

The loan, offered at a 6 percent annual interest rate, is repayable over a period of 13.5 years, including a grace period of three and a half years.

The marine cable is the seventh project financed by the fund in the field of telecommunications and brings total contribution by the fund to Arab projects in this sector to KD 46.6 million (about 145.7 million dollars).

CSO: 4400/32

SAUDI OFFICIAL HAILS 'VOICE OF GCC' RADIO

GF211540 Jeddah Domestic Service in Arabic 1400 GMT 21 Nov 84

[Text] Dr 'Ali 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Khuwayri, deputy minister of information and assistant of radio affairs, has described the Voice of GCC Radio--which transmits its programs on the affairs of the GCC during the GCC summit conference--as an excellent step taken by the administration of fraternal Kuwait. It is a step to promote media cooperation and coordination among the GCC states. He affirmed that it is a chance for the media and intellectuals to meet for discussion and to exchange views on all matters from which the GCC states and their people will benefit.

In a statement to Voice of GCC Radio, he stressed the importance of the opening of this radio. He stated that it represents the framework which the media workers want. They will participate in the Voice of GCC Radio in fraternal Kuwait Radio so as to bring success [words indistinct] which represents a nucleus for comprehensive cooperation in the future.

Dr 'Ali al-Khuwayri added that Saudi Radio has sent a number of announcers and program directors to the radio. He said that Saudi Radio's second program will join this radio daily from 1600 to 1700 [1300-1400 GMT].

Also some other GCC state radios will follow suit.

He praised the great efforts exerted by Kuwait Radio in all technical fields and the preparation of the programs. He expressed his thanks and appreciation to the officials and the workers in the Kuwaiti Ministry of Information for their initiative and enthusiasm. He hailed the efforts of the workers at the Voice of GCC Radio, wishing them all success.

CSO: 4400/32

## REGIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

FOREIGN LABOR POWER IN GULF--Manama, 19 Nov (WAKH)--Economic reports indicate that more than 3 million foreign laborers are currently in the GCC countries. Other official reports indicate that the Asian labor power constitutes 42 percent of the total labor power in the region; this represents about 2.5 million laborers. Official reports indicate that the overall labor power in Bahrain in 1982 reached 141,110 laborers, of which the Bahrainis constitute 42 percent while the expatriates constitute 58 percent. The 1981 census in Bahrain indicated that the total number of expatriates reached 112,378 people of which 12.7 percent are Arabs. [Excerpts] [Manama WAKH in Arabic 0615 GMT 19 Nov 84 GF]

CSO: 4400/32

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

ARMENIAN DEFENSE GROUP'S MEMO TO YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR

GF171722 Beirut AZTAG in Armenian 30 Oct 84 p 3

[Text of the memorandum to the Yugoslav ambassador in Greece conveyed by the defense body for the two Armenian youths imprisoned in Belgrade--date not given]

[Text] Respectable Mr Ambassador: By this memorandum we would like to point out the circumstances of the two Armenian combatants, Harutyun Levonian and Raffi Elbekian, who have been imprisoned in your country since 9 March 1983 as result of a sentence of 20 years of imprisonment issued against them.

The deed for which they were arrested was only aimed at Turkey and in no way was directed against your country, for which the Armenian people bear sympathetic feelings since ancient times and which would certainly have become friendly bilateral relations if the Armenian people's struggle against Turkey had succeeded as your revolution did.

However, unfortunately, the struggle of the Turkish Government against the Armenian people was not only oppressive but also criminal and resulted in the genocide and the deportation of the Armenian people from their ancestral lands.

Only one small segment of our people succeeded in escaping those massacres and later established a new life in Soviet Armenia or in various foreign countries. For 50 years our people tried to heal their wounds and then began pursuing justice and the work aimed at demanding Turkey's condemnation for the genocide crime and the return of the six usurped provinces.

This work was met by the indifferent attitude of all the governments and the official derision of the Turkish Government toward the Armenian demands. These stances would justifiably have enraged all the people who think freely, particularly the victims who survived the genocide and their children. Anger and resentment were expressed either through meetings of protest or attacks carried out by the Armenian young combatants against the official representatives of the Turkish Government, and one of these operations was the Belgrade operation.

One of the tragic sides of this operation was that due to the shootings at the operation site Yugoslav citizens were also killed.

It is above suspicion that such a development was not and could not have been a part of the plans of the Armenian combatants, one of which was wounded and paralyzed. Not a single Armenian can think about harming the Yugoslav citizens because the Armenians hold a respect toward this country which hosted a small number of them. These Armenians live in various parts of your country and enjoy the love and respect of your compatriots.

Mr Ambassador: Despite all that, a number of incidents following the arrest and particularly the trial awakened feelings of pain in us and in some cases resentment toward the juridical authorities:

1. In spite of announcements made, the trial took place behind closed doors.
2. The written medical report proved that the bullet that killed the Yugoslav student had a different diameter which does not coincide with the bullets used by the two Armenian combatants.
3. The medical care of paralyzed Harutyun Levonian has been inappropriate and as a result his health has not improved as expected.

Finally, and the most important thing, is that not even one defense witness was allowed to be present at the trial in order to explain in detail the motives of the act carried out by the Armenian youths. As a result of that extreme serious pressure, the two youths were regarded as simple criminals and were sentenced in accordance with the criminal laws due to which they were given a prison sentence of 20 years.

Is this an appropriate punishment for combatants who are waging a national liberation struggle? Is it not a method of degrading the memory of our 1.5 million martyrs?

Mr Ambassador: We have already begun to enjoy the good results of the struggle waged by our youths. Apart from the general mobilization in the ranks of the Armenian people, a big country such as France, through the official declaration of President Mitterrand, recognized the Armenian genocide. A few weeks ago the U.S. Congress adopted a similar decision. The decisions signed by your country within the framework of the United Nations affirm that the fact of the genocides could not be distorted.

Does not the sentences issued against Levonian and Elbekian acquit Turkey, which until today refuses to accept the responsibility of the horrid 1915 genocide?

Taking into consideration the above-mentioned facts, we ask that you convey our request to the juridical authorities of your country for a second trial in an impartial and public manner, as well as considering the two accused youths as combatants of a national cause as all the children of our nation have accepted them.

We are confident that such a step will have the following immediate positive results:

1. The sad impressions on your country which were created on the occasion of the first trial will be eliminated.

2. Yugoslavia will be ranked in the order of the countries struggling for the reestablishment of international rights.

3. It will satisfy the deeply wounded national dignity of the Armenian people.

We wish that the above-mentioned points will be realized.

Respectfully yours.

[Signed] The defense body of the two Belgrade youths.

CSO: 4605/37

## ALGERIA

### PRESIDENT VIEWS REGIONAL, DOMESTIC SCENE

PM121211 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 29 Oct 84 pp 8, 9

[Interview with Algerian President Chadli Bendjedid by 'Irfan Nizam al-Din in Algiers--date not given]

[Excerpts] Question: Before I move to Arab and Algerian issues I would like to ask you about French President Francois Mitterrand's recent visit to Algeria and about your relations with France, the United States, and the Soviet Union.

Answer: In fact, there are no real problems with France worth mentioning. The press exaggerated things and portrayed them bigger than they actually are. You all know that our problems with France are an old and heavy legacy, but since the advent of President Mitterrand's regime we have probably overcome most of the problems that accumulated over the years. Relations are progressing well. The press wrote about Mitterrand's visit to Morocco and referred to certain circumstances which it said were causing concern for Algeria. We say that every country has the right to establish relations with any other country, but we would like here to raise a frank question regarding the circumstances and the timing of President Mitterrand's visit to Morocco. We understand from this visit that there is a French blessing for certain things over which we put question marks. The visit took place at the time when a plebiscite was taking place in Morocco about the treaty with Libya. The French president's presence on that day is bound to raise questions. We have only raised questions, but the French press was far more strongly critical of the subject than the Algerian press. I believe that the timing of Mitterrand's visit to Morocco was a tactical and political mistake.

With regard to our relations with the big powers, they are relations of interests. There are no strategic ties between us and any country. What matters to us is Algeria's interest. For this reason we deal with any country and we have no complexes toward any country, whether the United States or the Soviet Union. Wherever Algeria's interest calls for cooperation, we naturally cooperate, whether that interest is with the Western countries, the United States, or the Soviet Union.

Question: Mr president, questions are being asked everywhere about what is actually happening in Arab Maghreb following the proclamation of Libyan-Moroccan

unity. What is your opinion of these events, and how do you evaluate the situation in the Arab Maghreb?

Answer: In fact, certain movements did take place recently in the Arab Maghreb which raise questions regarding the real aim behind them. What we are witnessing is in fact an attempt to split ranks, disperse efforts, and establish axes and alliances that do not serve the idea of a united Arab Maghreb or correspond to the permanent, real interests of the region. We believe that unionist action should be based on clear objectives and sincere will. This requires settling all outstanding problems wherever they may be and building sincere relations that will remove doubts, suspicions, and tension. Such action should also be based on respecting the independence of our countries and the choices of each of them. The historical tasks require us to look beyond the short term and circumstantial considerations. In our view unity in the Arab homeland should begin with solid internal building in each country and the achievement of cooperation and integration on a regional level.

Question: So you believe that the area is facing an era of polarization and axes, particularly in view of the Libyan-Moroccan treaty and the fraternal agreement between Algeria, Tunisia, and Mauritania.

Answer: We do not believe in the axis policy because it is contrary to the real interests of our country, but we do believe in cooperation, integration, and positive good-neighborliness as an effective means of creating a suitable atmosphere for progressing toward the achievement of unity. I will not be divulging a secret by saying that a draft agreement almost identical to that concluded between Morocco and Libya was proposed to us, but it was not possible to accept it because it ignores the real problems in the area and provides no solutions for them. It also ignores the other sisterly countries in the area, Mauritania, Tunisia, and Libya.

Question: What is the truth about reports of military concentrations on the borders?

Answer: There are no concentrations on our side; our forces are in their normal positions.

Question: Mr President, what is the connection between what is happening in the Arab Maghreb and the Sahara problem, and what is Algeria's final stand with regard to ending this problem? Do you intend to launch an initiative in this regard?

Answer: The problem of Western Sahara is a problem facing Africa and the world community; it is a problem concerning the right of a people to self-determination. Algeria's stand on this problem is clear and well-known. Algeria supports the right of peoples struggling in every place. We do not doubt for one moment that finding a just political settlement for this problem will open a bright era in our region. Reconciliation between the fraternal peoples of Morocco and Western Sahara is one of the things to which we attach great importance. The resolution of the 19th OAU summit is a suitable framework for solving the Western Sahara problem. Unfortunately

this framework has been ignored and not exploited. The current OAU chairman has defined the party responsible for this situation.

Question: What is your opinion of the agreement on Chad, and do you believe that it will bring peace to that divided country and to Africa?

Answer: The evacuation of all foreign troops from Chad has been achieved thanks to the vigilance and firmness of the OAU. We hope that this will lead to the establishment of peace and stability and an end to internicine fighting among the people of Chad. We believe that solution of this problem of necessity depends on the withdrawal of all foreign forces, national reconciliation among all the parties to the conflict, noninterference in the country's internal affairs, and respect for its sovereignty and independence.

Question: Mr President, allow me to move from Maghreb and African issues to Arab issues. My first question, of course, is: What are the real reasons for postpoing the PNC meeting, and are you still willing to play host to the PNC? Is it true that you have come under pressure to prevent the PNC meeting?

Answer: The Palestinian brothers are probably in a better position to answer that question since it concerns an internal Palestinian question, but we believe that there is a desire to enable the PNC meeting to succeed. It is natural that foremost among the Palestinian concerns is the effort to unify and consolidate the resistance ranks so that the PNC meeting will lead to positive results.

Algeria is in constant contact with the Palestinian brothers and has consultations with them regarding the convening of the PNC. Algeria's primary concern is to see the achievement of unity in Palestinian ranks and the overcoming of any difficulties that could weaken Palestinian steadfastness and struggle. Algeria is also anxious to see independent decision-making by the Palestinians regarding all their affairs. I would like to emphasize that Algeria takes into consideration only what serves the Palestinian interest and the national interest.

Question: How do you visualize solving the Middle East crisis? Are you an advocate of escalating armed struggle or of searching for a peaceful solution? Which of the two ways stands a better chance, and do you believe that we will be facing a new war or a lasting peace?

Answer: It is natural that all the Arabs support the fateful cause of their nation and the struggle for the restoration of the usurped rights. There is no other choice. What we are suffering today is due to the rift in our ranks and the lack of a collective strategy to defend our causes. I have absolutely no doubt that closing our ranks, defining our fundamental objectives, and mobilizing our resources in accordance with a joint action plan will enable us to change the present situation and achieve tangible success for our cause.

Question: Mr President, how do you evaluate your relations with the Arab countries? Are there contacts aimed at launching a Saudi-Algerian initiative to achieve Arab solidarity and end the present predicament?

Answer: Our relations with the sisterly Arab countries are good. Algeria has no particular problem with any sisterly country. Our relations with everybody are characterized by clarity, mutual trust, respect, and cooperation. We are in constant contact and consultation with the brothers, and we exchange views with them regarding common issues and current events and regarding ways to deal with difficult situations in order to reach a common stand that will serve Arab solidarity and the struggle to restore our nation's rights. In this regard we pursue the policy of dialogue and consultation with our brothers in the Saudi Arabian Kingdom as well as with the rest of our brothers.

Question: Another question that has come to the fore these days concerns Egypt's return. Do you support such a return and, if so, under what conditions?

Answer: The resolution about breaking relations with Egypt was adopted by an Arab summit and was dictated by special national considerations. This means that the reason for breaking relations was not the presence of bilateral problems or disputes. Algeria has no particular problem with Egypt, but what happened at Baghdad was a collective Arab decision. So a decision on this resolution can only take within the same framework and on the basis of a joint and objective evaluation of the problem.

Question: Mr President, I would like to move with you to another hot issue and therefore ask you: What progress have you achieved in your mediation to end the Iraq-Iran war? Was the matter brought up during President Musavi-Khamane'i's recent visit to your country? How do you view the future, and what is your opinion as an honest, neutral, and accepted mediator to all the parties?

Answer: In fact, the matter is not strictly one of mediation. Algeria is exerting efforts and believes that the continuation of the conflict is dangerous to both countries, to the interests of their peoples, and to the area as a whole. This war harms the interests of the Arab and Islamic community. We are convinced of the need to bring about a rational political solution that would ensure the interests of both countries. The time is bound to come when both sides decide to adopt such a solution, so that we can all address ourselves to fighting the battle against our real enemies.

Question: Mr President, the question of oil prices has again come to the fore. How do you view the present situation in the oil market and within OPEC? Where does Algeria stand in relation to all these currents and trends?

Answer: You realize that OPEC has played an extremely important role in defending the interests of the oil exporting countries. OPEC constitutes a force for the developing countries in the joint struggle for independence and development and for the conservation of natural resources and raw material.

This organization has been the target of several attempts to undermine its unity, weaken the solidarity of its members, and thwart its resolutions. The present situation is the result of disorder in the oil market that has led to competition in prices. This situation calls for a decision to make production volume compatible with demand. Algeria is anxious to bolster OPEC unity because it represents the suitable framework through which its members can express their will. By fully respecting OPEC's resolutions we can defend the level of prices. It is considerably important that there should be harmony between stands and resolution, so that we give solidarity its true meaning and so that enemies of the organization will be prevented from dividing its members and exploiting their differences of view--the objective which the monopolies and certain industrial states behind them are trying to achieve.

Question: On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of Algerian struggle for independence, how do you evaluate this historical era, and what have you achieved during it? What is your view of Algeria's future, particularly in the post-oil era?

Answer: It is difficult to review the results of three decades of struggle for building a new Algeria in a few lines. But it would suffice to say that the Algerian people fought a fierce battle for liberation from colonialism and the elimination of backwardness. We have been able to achieve positive results the total sum of which represents great victories--the most important being to win our full independence within the borders of our country and without giving up a single inch of our national soil.

The Algerian revolution has been able to achieve brilliant results basically because of the existence of a number of factors, among them clarity of objectives, the pursuit of a studied plan, unity of leadership, and continuity and integrity between the battle of liberation and the battle of development.

I would like to add here that our action takes into consideration the post-oil era and our planning depends on the exploitation of other resources and the provision of new means, to ensure our country's continued economic progress.

Question: Do you expect any radical changes in the party and government in the light of the Central Committee meeting, or is the method of quiet change expected to mark the character of the coming stage?

Answer: I would like to assure you that the coming meeting of the party Central Committee is an ordinary meeting and will be devoted to dealing with problems and issues on its agenda and not to anything else.

Question: During President Boumedienne's era the party was a political front. What role will the party play in your era, and has the time come for a multiparty system?

Answer: We all know that following its independence Algeria faced many problems and heavy burdens for which it had to find solutions. It had to lay down programs in order to deal with situations in the post-independence era,

because every era has its requirements and demands. We have done this in accordance with the FLN's principles. Algeria today is entering a new era in its overall development, which creates new tasks that call for a new vision and a precise action program. This task is undertaken by the FLN, which in recent times has gained greater vitality through deepening the concept of responsible democracy and constructive dialogue within the framework of guidance and options specified in the national charter. The FLN has successfully fought the battle of independence in the past and is today leading the battle to build a new Algeria with the same resolve.

Question: How true are current reports abroad about the discussion of sensitive issues such as fundamentalist religious trends and racial jingoism among certain people?

Answer: There is no disputing the fact that national unity is deep-rooted. It was manifest in its most glorious forms in all the experiences which our people have been through their long history. It gained strength and cohesiveness with the rallying of our people around the achievement of the revolution's strategic aims, namely the bolstering of national independence, the achievement of comprehensive development, and the building of a just society. The revolution has liberated man from negativism and turned him into a man with a sound view of things who adheres to the noble values of our revolution. The Algerian people are a Muslim people who live by lofty Islamic ideals which guide and regulate their actions. Islam has played a vanguard role in the battle of liberation: It stood up in the face of colonialism and fought against tyranny, false ideas, and humbug. In our progress toward building Algeria we are inspired by the tenets of our religion and shun fanaticism and narrow-mindedness. Islam is a religion of progress and openness and does not disagree with the requirements of the age.

Question: What steps have you taken to solve the economic problems, particularly the housing and transport problems? Can we know about your development plans for the future?

Answer: There are development plans that will meet the needs of the present standard which the Algerian community has reached in accord with the spirit of the age and with our cultural life.

You have probably observed that we have accomplished much. We are now preparing for a new launch under the second 5-year plan, which the fifth congress endorsed after a thorough study of the economic and social situation in the country.

The question of housing and transport is linked to other sectors and there is no way of separating it from them. We are seeking to achieve harmony in the various sectors of national activity and linking various parts of the country together, while taking the characteristics of each part into consideration within an integrated production system and the development of the transport network and an effective means for consolidating this integration.

CSO: 4500/21

## BRIEFS

AGREEMENT WITH CSSR--Algiers, 18/11/84 (APS)--An important accord of economic and financial cooperation was signed on 16 November 1984 in Prague between Mohamed Aberkane, deputy minister charged with foreign trade and Mr Bohumil Urban, Federal minister of Czechoslovak foreign trade in their quality of co-president of the Algero-Czechoslovak joint commission for the economic scientific and technic cooperation. This accord will open view prospects of development of bilateral economic cooperation in many fields. During his visit in Prague, Mr Mohamed Aberkane was received in audience by Lubomir Strougal, president of Czechoslovak Government. During his visit in Prague, Mr Mohamed Aberkane was audienced by Mr Lubomir Strougal, president of Czechoslovak Government. [duplication in last two sentences as received] Talks made it possible to make the point with different state counterparts as concerns the progress of projects under-way as well as presenting new projects of industrial cooperation and commercial exchanges between Algeria and Czechoslovakia. [Text] [Algiers APS in English 1034 GMT 18 Nov 84 LD]

CSO: 4500/21

## BRIEFS

HUNGARIAN DEFENSE MINISTER'S VISIT--Darnah, 18 Nov (JANA)--Brigadier General Abu-Bakr Yunis Jabir, commander in chief of the Libyan Arab Armed Forces, and General Lajos Czinege, member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party and minister of defense, opened a new camp yesterday at al-Jabal al-Akhdar. They inspected the camp, where the latest modern systems and equipment for training armed forces cadres are installed. The camp was constructed by the Libyan Arab-Hungarian Military Company. The Hungarian defense minister praised the bonds linking the two friendly Libyan Arab and Hungarian peoples and their common target in challenging American imperialism, which spreads terrorism in various parts of the world to intimidate peoples. The Hungarian guest, giving a speech on the occasion, stressed the rights of the Palestinian people to regain their land and the legitimacy of their struggle against colonialism and Zionism. Brigadier General Abu Bakr Yunis Jabir praised the close cooperation between the Jamahiriyah and Hungary as an indication of the good relations linking the two friendly countries. [Text] [Tripoli JANA in Arabic 0700 GMT 18 Nov 84 LD]

CSO: 4500/21

## MAURITANIA

### BRIEFS

SAUDI FLOOD RELIEF DONATION--A \$5 million check was yesterday presented to the permanent secretary at the office of the CMSN by the Saudi ambassador in Nouakchott. The money is the personal contribution of His Majesty King Fahd ibn 'Abd-al-Aziz to assist victims of last September's floods. [Excerpt]  
[Nouakchott Domestic Service in French 0700 GMT 19 Nov 84 AB]

CSO: 4500/19

## RECENT PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS REVEAL NO CLEAR-CUT WINNERS

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 396, 22 Sep 84 pp 22, 23

/Article by Muhammad al-Ashhab: "A Jew in the Moroccan Parliament"/

/Text/ Less than 24 hours after the announcement of the 14 September parliamentary election results, the leaders of the competing political parties met about the wedding table in the city of Fez on the occasion of the wedding of Princess Meriam, daughter of the Moroccan monarch. While the leaders of the political bodies brought a Friday night commotion with them to the city of Fez, the dominant impression here was that the parliamentary elections governing the 6 coming years did not bring any total surprises, though they did create an obvious imbalance in the political structure, because the prominent characteristics of the coming stage, in the context of the game of political succession, have made it inevitable that new rules would be set out on behalf of the new plan for political coexistence. Perhaps the most conspicuous manifestation of this stage lies in the acquisition by the Socialist Union (the main opposition party) of 34 seats, to which new seats will be added in the indirect vote, while its number of seats in the experiment (1979) did not exceed 14 and the Istiqlal Party declined from approximately 50 to 23 seats. The limits of the National Rally of Independents (the party of the former parliamentary majority) did not exceed 41 seats before it split off, to 130 (sic) seats in the current elections, while the Constitutional Union party occupied the top position on the lists with 55 seats, along with an earlier percentage to be added through the indirect vote, in addition to representatives of the Moroccan communities abroad. On the basis of this new breakdown, it appears that the Istiqlal Party, under the leadership of M'Hamed Boucetta, the former minister of foreign affairs, was the one most damaged by these results, which turned it from a prominent political force which in the past held an ample share of ministerial portfolios to an insignificant parliamentary group in terms of size and perhaps influence. In this regard it should be noted that the situation does not only concern the Istiqlal Party's position on the political map, which the party's stands will determine, but that it goes beyond that toward its internal composition, since the second figure in the party, M'Hamed Douiri, the former minister of planning, did not present himself for these elections, and failure was the fate of Istiqlal personalities close to him, such as Abdelkrim Ghallab, the theoretician of the party and appointed minister in the current cabinet, as

well as Mohamed Idrissi Kaitouni, the director of the newspaper AL-RA'Y, which the party issues in French, and the conscience of the Istiqlal union movement, Mr Larbi Zerouali. Up to the beginning of this week, the leader of the party, M'Hamed Boucetta, was contenting himself with making statements to the party press criticizing the administrative system, which he held responsible for the 14 September setback, as the leaders of the party are pleased to declare it. In the face of this obvious decline in the Istiqlal Party, the Socialist Union, under the leadership of Abderrahim Bouabid, managed to realize substantial progress in the number of seats and this will have the effect of leading the party to take new positions, although its press continued to criticize the acts of interference by the administration (albeit in a manner characterized by moderation and flexibility), since the Socialist Union considers that it managed to capture these seats at the expense of what it characterizes as the administrative system's partiality toward competing political bodies. The National Rally of Independents under the leadership of Ahmed Osman, former prime minister, clearly appeared to have backed off measurably from its earlier positions and to have tried to benefit from its presence in the ranks of the opposition during the last 2 years, since many of its leaders, such as Taieb Bencheikh, the current minister of economic affairs, Abderrahman El Kohen (a former minister), Alami Tazi, member of the executive committee, and others lost in the direct elections. As an extension of the Phenomenon of the decline in the size of the National Democratic Party under the chairmanship of Aarsalane Jadidi, the former minister of labor, from 49 seats in the previous experiment to 15, it does not seem that it will gain new seats. Thus, its hopes of moving on to influential political decisionmaking positions have greatly shrunk as a result of the occurrence of violent jolts in its organizational structures.

In the face of this picture, the Party of Progress and Socialism (communist) has managed to add a new seat to that of its sole deputy in parliament, Ali Yata, the organization of Democratic and Popular Action, which had been proscribed in the past, obtained one seat, won by its general secretary, Mohamed Bousaid, and the Popular Movement, with a Berber orientation, maintained a status which was close to its former presence, which generally assumes the character of balance. While the Constitutional Union Party, (the young party which was established no more than a year and few months ago) under the leadership of Maati Bouabid, former prime minister, assumed the top rank, we can find a political justification which is close to this phenomenon in the adherence to the requirements of the political game, which make it inevitable that there be differing tendencies and trends on the political map.

The question now is, what will be the role of the left, represented by the Socialist Union, in the coming political game? The advisor to the Moroccan monarch, Ahmed Reda Guedira, who is an influential figure in Morocco's political orientation domestically and abroad, stated, on one occasion "Morocco is embarking on a new political stage, the first of its kind in the context of the assumption of the reins of power by the left."

In addition to that, one can say that the Socialist Union, which is participating in the current transition government with a single ministerial portfolio, that of the Ministry of Cooperation, and whose administration is supervised by Abdelouahed Radi, is entering the government through a broad door, and has perhaps assumed the management of important economic and social sectors, in view of the type of economic difficulties the country is facing, relying on its agreement in principle to bear the responsibility of planning and management within a program whose features are clear.

Some informed political circles consider that the Socialist Union's partnership in the government will be shared by the Constitutional Union, the National Rally of Independents and some independent figures. These figures explain the basis of this picture by the presence of an obvious contradiction in this formation's political and economic premises, with the attendant approval of a flexible economic and political program which will be the object of adherence and agreement among these parties. Meanwhile, it has become clear that the Istiqlal Party, which has long experience in opposition, will revert to this position after 6 years' participation in the government. From now on, one can say that the stage of the next 6 years in the life of Morocco will be decisive and crucial, not only because the Socialist Union Party will try its luck in practical participation in the executive system but also because many considerations dictate that all political parties must participate in bearing responsibility, in spite of differing positions and tendencies. The enthusiasm with which all the political bodies accepted the establishment of the Arab-African Federation between Morocco and the Libyan Jamahiriyah make it inevitable that this approach will have to move up to a higher level of action for the sake of practical participation by all political bodies, in particular the Socialist Union, one of whose leaders, Abdelouahed Radi, may assume responsibility for the secretariat general of the union, and the developments in the Sahara struggle, specifically in the context of the consecration of the peaceful solution to the struggle, since many parties are earnestly seeking to get it to assume an Arab character and will in turn dictate that there be equal participation by all political bodies, while the economic situation, with its heavy political bodies, while the economic situation, with its heavy accumulation of burdens in the context of the increasing magnitude of foreign debts, the drop in the value of domestic currency and the suspension of productive projects, will remain in the forefront of national necessities which make it necessary to embark on a new stage of confrontation whose main slogan will perhaps be "no left and no right--all Moroccans are responsible and are partners."

However, the surprise observers recorded in these elections lay in the election of Mr Joseph Ohana to membership in the Moroccan parliament. He is a prominent Moroccan Jew who took part in the national movement, especially the progressive movement within it, in the era of the National Union of Popular Forces. Joseph Ohana is well known for his firm link with prominent

political leaders, especially Mehdi Ben Barka, with whom he took a final breakfast on 20 October 1965, before the notorious incident of the latter's abduction.

Joseph Ohana is a Moroccan Jewish citizen from the city of Souira, which was one of the most important centers of the Jewish community in Morocco. He belongs to the Constitutional Party and his victory marks the first election of a Moroccan Jew to a parliamentary seat since Morocco's independence about 30 years ago.

11887

CSO: 4504/32

MOROCCAN SOCIALIST PARTY MESSAGE TO RCP CONGRESS

AU251950 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 21 Nov 84 p 13

[Report on message sent by Ali Yata, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Party for Progress and Socialism of Morocco, to the 13th RCP Congress]

[Text] On the occasion of the 13th RCP Congress we extend warmest and most heartfelt congratulations, on behalf of the Moroccan Party for Progress and Socialism [PPS] Central Committee; we extend the same wishes for full success to all participants in the congress. We are convinced that the 13th RCP Congress will establish concrete guidelines and tasks capable of ensuring the development of the SR of Romania's forces and relations of production, by making full use of the country's resources. This will create the necessary means to build a happy and prosperous life.

We are convinced that the 13th congress will adopt the necessary decisions to implement the 1986-90 Five-Year Plan, which guarantees the attainment of basic targets to build the comprehensively developed socialist society and promote full emancipation, progress, and social justice and equity.

The message further reads: We have no doubt whatsoever that the congress proceedings will confirm the correctness of Romania's foreign policy, based on respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, equality of rights, and nonuse of force. By promoting these principles, Romania contributes to international peace and understanding among peoples, something which enhances its broad prestige at the world level.

We take this opportunity offered by your congress proceedings, the message reads, to express satisfaction with the good relations between our countries, relations which have continuously expanded on the basis of mutual respect and mutually advantageous cooperation.

We pay solemn homage to the personal efforts made by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and to the clear-sighted and sure way in which he leads the RCP and the Romanian people along the road of building the comprehensively developed socialist society.

We wish you new success in your activity.

Long live the 13th RCP Congress!

Long live the friendship between the Moroccan and Romanian peoples!

Ali Yata, secretary general of the PPS Central Committee

CSO: 4500/19

MOROCCO

BRIEFS

DEVELOPMENT BANK LOAN--Jeddah, 20 Nov (WAKH)--The Islamic Development Bank and Morocco have signed an agreement so that Morocco may import oil worth \$20 million. [Summary] [Manama WAKH in Arabic 1745 GMT 20 Nov 84 GF]

CSO: 4500/19

SUDAN, PRC HOLD CULTURAL TALKS IN KHARTOUM

JN192122 Khartoum SUNA in English 1740 GMT 19 Nov 84

[Text] Khartoum, Saf, 19 Nov (SUNA)--Sudanese and Chinese sides today started talks under the chairmanship of Culture and Information Minister 'Ali Muhammad Shumu and the Chinese deputy minister of culture.

At the beginning of talks Shumu welcomed the visiting delegation. He praised the Sino-Sudanese relations which he described as strong and developing. He said that Sudan had played a leading part in the acceptance of China in the United Nations.

The Chinese official thanked the Sudanese Government for hospitality and good reception and said that the aim of this visit is to boost the eternal relations between the two countries.

The Chinese deputy minister of culture and his country's policy aimed at profiting from the foreign cultures, and Sudan is one of the countries that have rich authentic culture, he said. The Chinese official expressed his country's readiness to train some Sudanese cadres in the various fields of culture.

The two sides, however, had talks on cultural relations and means of developing them as preparation for the cultural protocol to be signed next Wednesday at the Foreign Ministry.

The Chinese delegation arrived here yesterday on a 5 day visit to the country.

CSO: 4500/22

## NUMAYRI ADDRESSES ISLAMIC STUDENT CONFERENCE

JN171532 Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1430 GMT 17 Nov 84

[Excerpts] Khartoum, 17 Nov (SUNA)--In his speech at the opening session of the sixth conference of the World Islamic Union of the student organizations here this morning, President Ja'far Muhammad Numayri welcomed the convening of the conference in Sudan at a time when the Sudanese people are experiencing the Islamic trend. Numayri described Sudan's pioneering experience in applying Islamic law as a move that fully epitomizes the soundness of the steps Sudan's revolution has taken, outlining the gradual steps taken to reach this glorious goal. He also stressed that the propaganda and aggressive campaigns Sudan is [word indistinct] show soundness of the Islamic trend that Sudan has adopted.

President Numayri also made some remarks that will guide the activities of the world Islamic union of student organizations. He said that many sides are combatting religion because they are afraid of its spread as well as the spread of awareness among people, pointing out that awareness is the way to independence from all created restrictions and the way to self-realization through exercising freedom. It is also the way to human progress through science and sound thought.

Concluding his speech, Numayri called on all militant youths in Sudan to unify their efforts for the sake of the homeland, to arm themselves with awareness, and to avoid differences and prejudice, stressing the need for employing ideological differences in the interest of the homeland, and not in the interest of the homeland's enemies, who are interested only in reaching positions [word indistinct] to carry out the strategies of the homeland's enemies. The homeland and the revolution are a trust in the hands of youths, whose determination and efforts will enable the revolution to continue its victories.

CS0: 4500/22

NUMAYRI ADDRESSES UPPER NILE CITIZENS

JN192027 Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1750 GMT 19 Nov 84

[Excerpts] Malakal, 19 Nov (SUNA)--President Ja'far Muhammad Numayri has greeted the citizens of Malakal, the capital of the Upper Nile Region, and through them all citizens who are faithful to the homeland and the revolution in all parts of the south. In a speech delivered during a meeting with the masses here today, the president said: I greet you as you are asserting your adherence to the unity of the soil through your sacrifices, efforts, and giving, despite all schemes and conspiracies against Sudan's unity, loftiness, dignity and independence.

The president described the meeting as a great fraternal welcome that shows the entire world that Sudan is united with its faithful sons in their convergence on building the north and the south and that Sudan is united despite its enemies. Sudan will not be divided or fragmented by the variety of its creeds and religions.

The president pointed out that the enemies intentionally ignored the fact that the Sudanese people in the north and south are owners of their creed. There is no restriction on worship ordered by God and included in the Holy Book, and no restriction for freedom of faith but there are fraternity, tolerance and cohesion.

The president asserted that religion has never been a cause of differences in the south or a political motive for the escalation of these differences. He said: Those who are promoting these differences are seeking personal goals and benefits which do not serve the homeland's security and safety. At the public gathering, the president asked: In whose interest is a halt to the march of development and reconstruction in the south, the wasting of national resources, and an end to drilling for oil after the work reached the stage of production?

The president praised those who responded to his excellency's call for resorting to dialogue. Those who had violated the law rushed to dialogue as the only means to solve all problems and conflicts.

The president again addressed those who resorted to arms as a means to impose their opinion. He said that arms do not solve a cause, fighting does not achieve peace, and the force of arms never prevails. He asserted that constructive and positive dialogue is the only way to solve differences and that unity, peace and security will remain honorable national objectives. Following the enemies' schemes will inflame the homeland with fires of sedition and destruction, he added.

CSO: 4500/22

TUNISIAN PREMIER INVITES PRC'S ZHAO TO VISIT

PM061141 Tunis L'ACTION in French 24 Oct 84 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Mohamed Mzali Invites His Chinese Counterpart to Visit Tunisia"]

[Text] Prime Minister and Interior Minister Mohamed Mzali had a meeting at his residence in the Beijing visitors house with Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang, who came to pay him a farewell call at the end of his official visit to the PRC.

During the meeting, Zhao Ziyang described the good impression he received from his meeting with Mohamed Mzali, which had also given him the feeling that they had known each other a long time, despite the fact that it was their first meeting.

Mohamed Mzali invited his Chinese counterpart to visit Tunisia--an invitation which he accepted with gratitude, expressing the honor he will feel to meet President Habib Bourguiba, whom, he said, he respects and esteems.

He also expressed the hope that these meetings between the two countries' government officials will continue, so as to further strengthen the ties of cooperation between the Tunisian and Chinese peoples. For his part Mohamed Mzali expressed Tunisia's profound wish to consolidate the relationship of friendship between the two countries by establishing sustained consultation among officials at party and government levels on all political and economic questions of common interest.

At the end of the meeting, Zhao Ziyang gave Mr Mzali an album of photographs as a souvenir of his visit to the PRC.

CSO: 4500/23

## UGTT-GOVERNMENT TENSIONS REPORTED

Paris LE MONDE in French 31 Oct 84 p 3

[Article by Michele Deure: "Tension Between the UGTT; Government Finds Expression in Numerous Strikes"]

[Text] These last few weeks relations between the UGTT [Tunisian General Federation of Labor] and the government have become considerably strained. The trade union accuses the government of having deliberately toughened their positions and of intentionally delaying; this creates the impression that the current social unrest conceals the political ulterior motives.

The resolution adopted during the last meeting of UGTT's administrative committee clearly reflects the trade unions' tension. [It reads:] "With regard to arbitrary dismissals and the ever more frequent recourse to shutting down enterprises, the authorities are confining themselves to a spectator's role. Moreover, they seek to hamper trade union action, to deal it a harsh blow, to defeat the workers' struggle, and to inspire doubts about their actions..."

This situation finds expression in the field by an increase in strikes. During the past week work stoppages were reported at the railroad company (rail traffic experienced delays during the past 48 hours), and at the Grain Agency (for 6 days), at the Vocational Training Agency and the Employment Office. According to the trade unions, other activities are reportedly under consideration for the coming weeks.

Social tension, which has just increased slightly, actually became noticeable during the summer. For the first time in a long while the traditional summer truce was not respected. Although it was possible to avoid some strikes in July, August, and September, thanks to last minute negotiations, others--more or less observed, depending on whether one refers to information provided by the authorities or information provided by the trade unions--were effective. These actions, mainly noted in the public sector, seek for the most part implementation of laws or special agreements, sometimes on the books for more than 1 year but which went unheeded, and wage demands. The UGTT explained that the unquestionable increase in the cost of living, without any adjustment in salaries this year, is responsible for workers' discontent.

In the private sector, which is also experiencing some strikes, trade unionists accuse management of frequently ignoring social legislation and of going ahead

with improper dismissals with complete peace of mind, given the indifference, if not the approval, of the government.

Until now the authorities have refrained from any official reaction to these criticisms, which are always expressed in a vehement tone; but according to the government press the agitation, "stirred up by some maximalists," shows "a deliberate intention to provoke social and political unrest."

However, the agreement signed in April between the government and the trade union federation, providing for a quasi permanent dialogue on major economic problems and the social and economic orientation of the country, as well as the preservation of workers' purchasing power, led one to expect a calm year in the social field. But in June a government circular changing, without consulting the UGTT, the procedures in effect relative to withholding trade union dues at the source suddenly worsened the climate. This imperilled the assurance of an annual financial sum of around 2 million dinars for the trade unions. A very close-fought negotiation had to be held so that the dispositions ordered could be changed and made more flexible.

#### Trade Union Meetings Forbidden

The UGTT considered it was nothing short of a "violation" of the April agreement for the government to have refrained from any dialogue on this question. Two months later the unrest reappeared with another government decision, again taken without consultation with the UGTT: the prohibition of trade union meetings in enterprises. It was a second "violation" of the April agreement for Mr Taieb Baccouche, general secretary of the federation, who commented in the trade union newspaper: "Trade union meetings in the workplaces are not only an acquired right but are also an integral part of trade union law as it is provided for and recognized by the agreements signed by the government and trade union parties."

Trade union leaders, already pressured by wage demands from their base, add to these grievances the support and facilities that the National Union of Tunisian Workers (UNTT), an organization born in the beginning of 1984 following a split within the UGTT, reportedly receives from the government.

Under present circumstances it seems obvious that the government--which must confront a relatively difficult economic and financial situation, and with production which to say the least is stagnating--does not intend to give in to all the demands presented to it. UGTT leaders cannot ignore that. But it is not to be ruled out that, at 2 months' distance from the trade union, this test of strength stands it in good stead in its dealing with a part of its members. In fact at the beginning of the year a number of the latter deplored their organization's passivity when the increase in the price of bread led to the tragic uprisings which we all recall. And in the spring the young trade unionists of the most radical Left, who remain very active, had strongly criticized their leaders, even having Mr Habib Achour, the UGTT leader, booed during the 1 May rally. Although some of them have since been expelled from the trade union rolls, they are likely to make themselves heard loud and clear during the December meeting.

Meanwhile, the UGTT is preparing a document for submission to the congress setting forth a new "national plan for economic and social development," in the light of past and present experiences which were severely criticized. It is said to be a document which will go beyond normal trade union concerns and constitute a real political program. It also provides the occasion to discuss again in trade union circles the creation of a "labor party."

Is it a threat brandished in the direction of the government, a simple discussion of ideas or firm intentions? Taking into consideration the diversity of the factions and the sensitivities which coexist, and not without some friction, within the federation, it is difficult to see what benefit there could be in a political party which would emerge from this. And then, did not Mr Habib Achour declare to the weekly newspaper JEUNE AFRIQUE: "It is a grave error to change trade unions into political parties. Trade unionists who want to be active in politics do so inside political parties?" But it is true that these remarks go back to more than 1 year ago.

9772

CSO: 4519/25

TUNISIA

BRIEFS

DEVELOPMENT BANK LOAN--Jeddah, 18 Nov (WAKH)--The Islamic Development Bank and Tunisia have signed an agreement so that Tunisia may import ammonia worth \$10 million. [Summary] [Manama WAKH in Arabic 1835 GMT 18 Nov 84 GF]

CSO: 4500/23

ISRAELI COMMUNIST YOUTH UNION OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED

Moscow KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Oct 84 p 3

[Interview with General Secretary of the Communist Youth Union of Israel Muhammad Nafa by A. Zhukov: "A Society Without a Future"; date and place not given]

[Text] General Secretary of the Communist Youth Union of Israel Muhammad Nafa tells about the domestic political situation in Israel, about the problems of Israeli young people and about their preparation for the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow.

[Question] Parliamentary elections, which brought to power the reactionary Likud coalition and the Labor Party of Israel, were held in July of this year. What are the peculiarities of the domestic political situation in the country before and after the elections?

[Answer] Today Israel is experiencing a most profound sociopolitical crisis, which is being aggravated by an economic crisis. This crisis finds its expression not only in runaway inflation, mass unemployment and the catastrophic decrease of the standard of living of the working people. The main thing is the split of unprecedented scale of the entire society into two camps, a split which encompasses all the strata of the population, regardless of their social and national affiliation.

During the more than 30-year history of existence of the state of Israel, when both the Labor Party and the Likud coalition have been in power, in spite of the openly anti-Arab policy of the ruling clique, the population has stuck to a loyal position with respect to the government. Chauvinist propaganda, by means of which the Zionists spread the necessary views among apolitical residents, played a large role in the assurance of such sentiments.

In launching the Lebanon campaign, then Israeli Prime Minister Begin and Defense Minister (now Minister of Industry and Commerce--A. Zh.) Sharon promised the Israelis an easy "tourist" blitzkrieg, placing their trust in the military equipment and numerical superiority of the Israeli army. However, with the first days of the Israeli offensive it became clear that nothing had come of the entertaining outing. And when coffins with the bodies of Israeli

soldiers were brought by the hundreds from Lebanon, rumblings began among the population of the "Promised Land." The news about the immediate involvement of the highest officials of the Israeli cabinet in the mass murder of residents of Sabra and Shatila became the drop which exhausted the patience. At that time for the first time in the history of Israel hundreds of thousands of people went out into the streets.

The frightened Zionist clique of Israel in an attempt to deflect the tension of the antigovernment demonstrations and to return to itself control over the situation agreed to certain, purely cosmetic reforms, which were represented by propaganda as "unselfish sacrifices in the name of the people." Shamir, an even more refined "hawk," succeeded Begin, while Moshe Arens, the "champion" of the technical modernization of the Israeli army and the founder of the military-industrial complex of the Zionist state, replaced Sharon in the chair of Minister of Defense. But what changed in the policy of the new leadership? The frontier posts of the Lebanese-Israeli border were moved 50 km to the north, into the heart of Lebanon, to the Awali River, which in reality signified the undeclared annexation of a significant portion of the independent state. As before mothers and wives in Israel continued to receive death notices for their sons and husbands. As a result of the increase of defense spending, which now comes to 70 percent of the entire state budget, inflation has increased from 140 percent in 1982 to 400 percent in 1984. The foreign debt has increased. In spite of the steady diversion of 20 percent of the able-bodied population for service in the army, under the conditions of the incomplete utilization of production unemployment has increased catastrophically, having passed the 400,000 level. The emergency credit, which was declared across the ocean, also was not able to save the situation: Would the \$2.6 billion of American aid really be enough to cover the debt of \$24 billion?

On 23 July extraordinary elections to the Knesset were held precisely under the conditions of the national crisis. Going into the elections, the ruling Likud coalition was confident of its victory. On the orders of the ruling cabinet a frenzied propaganda campaign, in which Begin's Herut Party, profascist terrorist organizations like KAKh, which is headed by Rabbi Kahane, and Tzomet, which was founded by General Eytan, former Chief of the General Staff of the Israeli Army and the executioner of Sabra and Shatila, sang the solo parts, was launched in the country. And when election day came, these parties and organizations not only received votes, but also were able to send to the parliament a large number of their representatives.

How is such a development of events to be explained? Why did the voters cast their votes for candidates, who profess openly fascist views and appeal for the physical destruction of all the Arabs without exception, who inhabit Palestine, in the name of "living space for the Jewish nation?"

Historical analogies are not always correct, but in this case the similarity is obvious. Between the Third Reich of the 1930's and Eretz Yisroel, Great Israel, of the 1980's. Between the desperate crowds of Germans, who were turned by a "skillful" hand into "cannon fodder" for the conquest of new lands and new profits for the monopolies, and the Jewish population of Israel, which has been tormented by the crisis and incessant wars, has been stupefied by

chauvinist propaganda and is ready to believe all but the devil himself, if only to put an end to need. But here are the "devils" who are spreading fascism, they are suggesting: "Kill a Palestinian, and you will have a job! Kill a Lebanese, and his property will be turned over to you!"

[Question] That is, is it possible to speak today of the gradual spread of fascism in Israeli society?

[Answer] Yes, it is obvious. In case of such an assessment I am guided by the Marxist definition of fascism. As to the sentiments of the masses, at the same time as the noted tendency to shift to the right a no less strong trend toward the consolidation of the leftist, progressive forces and the formation of associations, parties and groups, which are capable of constituting an effective opposition to the right-wingers, is also obvious.

The election campaign of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality--Hadash--can serve as an example of this. Founded in 1977, Hadash absorbed representatives of the most influential democratic forces of the country--the Communist Party of Israel; the organization of natives from countries of Africa, the Black Panthers; the Democratic Front of the City of Nazareth; the Left Socialists of Israel. In spite of the efforts of right-wing circles, which are striving to kindle bloody hatred between the Jewish and Arab population of Israel, Hadash demonstrated not only the possibility, but also the necessity and effectiveness of the joint struggle of Jews and Arabs against the criminal plans of the ruling clique. This appeared in the great success of the Hadash candidates in the elections.

The past months have also demonstrated the significant increase of the leftist sentiments among young people, who have been doomed by the rulers of Israel to death in the trenches of south Lebanon. Such sentiments are being manifested both in the broadening antiwar movement and in specific actions of young people against the criminal activity of the right-wingers. Thus, KAKh leader Kahane, exhilarated by his election to the Knesset, decided to organize a provocative intrusion into the Arab village of Umm al-Fahm in order to drive its residents from the native land. Having found out about this intention of the leader of the Israeli "ultras," hundreds of young Jews a day before the planned provocation came to Umm al-Fahm, spent the night in the houses of Arabs and in the morning shoulder to shoulder with the Arab population gave a crushing rebuff to the thugs of the newly appeared "fuhrer."

[Question] But all the same bourgeois propaganda is continuing to repeat the impossibility of the "coexistence" of Arabs and Jews.

[Answer] These writers should go to the tent camp of unpaid labor in the city of Nasira and see how the "incompatible" Arab and Jewish boys and girls live and work! However, a report from Nasira would not find a place on the pages of the "respectable" press.

I want to add to what has been said that today a larger and larger number of Jews in Israel express support of the just struggle of the Palestinian patriots for their legal rights.

[Question] And a last question. How are the young people of Israel preparing for the 12th World Festival in Moscow?

[Answer] It is quite obvious that the news about the holding of the 12th Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow by no means pleased the leadership of Tel Aviv. Moreover, official propaganda immediately stated that "Moscow is attempting to crush under itself the young people of the world." But, in spite of the difficulties which arose in such a situation, the preparation for the festival is picking up speed. A prefestival program under the slogans of the struggle for peace and for the rights of young people has been formulated. The gathering of signatures on festival appeals is under way among the masses at large.

7807

CSO: 1807/75

KING HUSAYN GRANTS INTERVIEW TO EGYPTIAN DAILY

JN160915 Amman AL-RA'Y in Arabic 16 Nov 84 pp 17, 18

[Text] The following is the text of His Majesty King Husayn's comprehensive interview to the Cairo newspaper AL-AHRAM, to be published in today's issue.

Question: We thank His Majesty the King for the opportunity of this interview with AL-AHRAM and Egyptian television, and would like to ask first: When will the Egyptian people be honored by your visit?

Answer: I am looking forward to this visit and hope that it will take place at the earliest possible opportunity. I have waited for a long time. Thank God, matters have returned to normal and we have again resumed our joint march in serving our nation and objectives. We have recently been honored by our great brother Muhammad Husni Mubarak's visit to Jordan, and I greatly hope that my visit will take place within a very short period.

Question: What does Your Majesty mean by a very short period?

Answer: I mean within a few days. Perhaps at the end of this month or the beginning of next month. It will not be any later than that, God willing.

Question: We look forward to welcoming you in Egypt soon, God willing. Your Majesty, it is no secret that the Arab nation is currently experiencing serious developments that could pose grave dangers to the nation if we do not prepare for them and adopt the appropriate stands. Perhaps Your Majesty would agree for us to begin by posing questions concerning the current Arab situation. But I will be more precise, and begin by asking you: Could it be said that certain Arab states have an interest in the continuation of the current divisive Arab situation? What, precisely, are these stands? And, is there any way or are there any ways out of this situation?

Answer: Perhaps the answer to this question will be simply to look at the reality in the Arab world, where our situation has little or no effect whatsoever on our basic issues and the world in which we are living. Yet we live in an area which abounds with human and material resources and is strategically important. Moreover, we have strong, just causes. All of that should have made our situation different from the bitter and sorrowful

one we are experiencing now. There is certainly a state of paralysis resulting from the method of unanimity we have pursued in adopting our decisions in the Arab world. This method has not given us the desired results. Therefore, I believe that it is time for the majority to crystallize policies, adopt stands, set the course for others, and thus organize the march.

At any rate, we all know the parties which have adopted certain policies and trends and have placed the responsibilities of the present on future generations. I do not know why we are burdening future generations with these responsibilities. Moreover, what makes us believe that these generations will enjoy their cherished future when we are still facing challenges? It is our duty as responsible people to tackle the issues of the hour effectively. It seems to me that some people live only for their own moment, and believe that the world begins and ends with them. This is one of the tragedies in our great homeland. There are also others who seek to disrupt Arab relations and what the Arabs have achieved and are continuing to achieve. However, the march must go on despite all of these attempts. The picture is indeed bad and sorrowful, but I am fully confident that this nation will eventually rectify its course throughout the great homeland.

Question: Your Majesty, with your permission we want to speak frankly this time.

Answer: Be it so. Let us speak frankly. There might be certain forces in the Arab homeland that have negative stands toward the issue of an Arab meeting on a level desired in the entire homeland.

For example, at present we regrettably have no diplomatic ties with Libya. This is due to long experience with this fraternal country's practices against us and against many in our one large Arab family, to this country's failure to honor its commitments, and to its negative stands that go only in a negative direction. As for our relationship with the brothers in Syria, there are problems between us. These have never been personal differences, but differences over issues such as Lebanon. We supported the Syrian intervention in Lebanon at one stage, and we defended this intervention to the whole world--in Moscow, Washington, and all the countries with which we had relations and contacts. We considered the Syrian intervention in Lebanon as being linked for a limited period of time in order to achieve certain objectives for the sake of stopping the bleeding and paving the way for an intra-Lebanese and Lebanese-Palestinian dialogue in a manner that will avert the catastrophe which subsequently occurred--that is, the Israeli occupation. In addition to the Israeli presence, Lebanon is undergoing an ordeal which cannot be viewed with satisfaction by any of us. This is one of the points of differences with Syria.

Moreover, they keep saying that the Palestinian question is the question of future generations. Why would we leave it to future generations? What is our job? Are we living in a vacuum? The issue is continuously changing and is affecting land, people, and holy places. This is another point of disagreement with Syria. There is also the question of the PLO and the Palestinian

decision. Until 1974, we were committed to the attempts to restore the Jordanian territories occupied in 1967. After a long discussion, the Arabs agreed that the PLO is the Palestinian people's sole legitimate representative. Naturally, when we discuss a subject that goes beyond the occupied territories to the subject of the Palestinian question and a just solution to it, the Palestinians should be a principal side in the process in order to regain rights and establish a just and honorable peace in this part of the world.

A vacuum may have resulted from the 1974 Rabat resolution, but a more serious vacuum results when blows are dealt to the PLO--particularly at this stage, after Israel has achieved what it has achieved with its steps in the occupied territory, where it changed things and was only a little short of achieving its short-term objectives regarding Palestine.

Another point of disagreement between us and Syria is the attempt to impose hegemony and control on this organization in a bid to weaken it and render it impotent in reflecting the hopes, ambitions, and aspirations of its people. The organization is supposed to be of them and for them, and is supposed to represent their ambitions and pains under these hard circumstances.

There is also the Iraq-Iran war. There is the Arab League Charter and there is the Collective Arab Defense Pact. There are norms and traditions, and there is duty. Syria's support for Iran against Iraq is something that is unjustified and unacceptable.

This is what concerns some of our brothers. I believe that responsibility also falls on others who accept such recklessness and are lenient toward the violation of the charter, the Collective Arab Defense Pact, and the Arab summit resolutions, including the meetings which should be held annually at fixed dates.

There are also brothers who believe that there should be no Arab summit meeting as long as there are Arab differences. In fact, I do not see why Arab summit meetings should be held other than to discuss the existing problems, in an attempt to remove them and make the nation's march sound. Perhaps we had to put up with many mistakes in this regard.

Question: You have often said in your statements that you support the need to convene Arab summit conferences on time. Yet the efforts that have been going on for some time now have failed to convene a summit, due to the opposition by one or two states. What, in your opinion, is the way out of this stalemate or this situation that permits any single Arab state to prevent a summit?

Answer: This is an unusual and abnormal situation. It is also unacceptable. We must intensify our Arab contacts in order to reach an agreement among the responsible leaders in this great homeland on rectifying the course, beginning the dialogue, and forging ahead.

Question: You have often said that the Arab situation is currently going through a bad phase, and that this calls for more understanding and coordination among the Arabs. This is also President Mubarak's opinion, which he has announced several times. What are the possibilities of getting out of this bad situation, and to what extent can Cairo and Amman contribute toward reaching an Arab situation that is more effective and toward convincing to the others?

Answer: We hope that the rapprochement between Cairo and Amman--as well as the subsequent measures that will be taken in order to achieve cooperation and integration in bilateral relations and to hold consultations and take joint action in the service of Arab issues and in defense of Arab rights--will be one of the good beginnings. We hope that this relationship will serve as a model for relations between Arab states. I am confident that this is one of the beginnings, God willing.

Question: Your Majesty, the Arabs are divided on their attitude toward the two superpowers. They are also divided on Camp David, the Reagan Plan, and the Iraq-Iran war. In your opinion, how can all of these divisions be tackled? Would it be possible to create certain mechanisms or means that would help solve these Arab disputes correctly, and would enable the Arabs to define certain general objectives for joint action and then to specify the areas in which they can work together. Or, would their divisions be dependent on mutual dialogue, distributing roles, and letting reality prove the correctness of the different assumptions? Is it actually possible to achieve that?

Answer: I believe that this is the assumption about reality. However, we greatly hope to begin the march on the course that will take us to our aims and objectives.

Question: Let us now consider Your Majesty's declared and well-known stand toward the United States. You believe that the United States has lost some credibility in the Middle East, and that it has also lost its ability to prove to the Arabs that it is at least neutral between them and Israel, now that Israel has become the strategic ally of the United States. What are the circumstances that can help change the current situation and achieve a more even-handed and progressive U.S. stand which you referred to in your last message to Reagan? Do you also consider the Arabs responsible for the current situation?

Answer: The main responsibility of course rests with the Arabs. Had we in the great homeland cooperated with one another in the desired manner, and had we exploited all of our capabilities and resources in preserving the Arab identity, defending Arab rights, and building the intrinsic Arab power, the picture would have been different. I believe that the United States has direct interests in the Arab homeland that are far greater than those in Israel. Still, we find that the Zionist lobby and Israel have more influence on the United States. We are saddened by this. The fact is that more of the responsibility rests with us in the Arab homeland. It is our duty to see that we have the desired influential power in this world.

Israel and the Zionist movement may be aiming to internationalize the conflict in the region, but this is not in our interest as Arabs. Our Arab identity, the future of our generations, and our freedom are all in the balance. We must have balanced relations with everyone. As far as the United States is concerned, the truth is that our dialogue with them has been going on for years. Recently, however, I felt that this dialogue should come out in the open, in the hope that it would provoke some kind of a debate in the U.S. arena on the state of affairs we have reached. At any rate, the situation has changed considerably from what it was in 1956. In 1967, even in 1967, there were several ideas and changes, such as Resolution 242 which stipulates the inadmissibility of acquiring territories by force.

The equation was simple and clear: total withdrawal for peace. Nothing of the sort has been achieved. On the contrary, Israel is present on Arab territory and there is U.S. material, political, and military aid. The matter must then be discussed with them. Regarding Jordan, we divided the subject into two parts. One part deals with weapons. As long as the conditions proposed to us are unacceptable, humiliating, and detrimental to our national dignity, we will neither accept these weapons nor agree to continue dealing with the United States in the field of arms unless the picture is completely changed. We view the topic of arms within the context of defending ourselves against the danger posed by some ministers in the current Israeli Government, who say that Jordan's East Bank is part of Israel. Therefore, we turn to West Europe, the Soviet Union, and any other source that can supply us with our weapons needs.

The second part deals with the political aspect. Our main problem is in the United States; we must concentrate on the U.S. arena and not leave it for our opponents. Our cause is strong and just, and I am confident that the picture will change through continuous efforts.

As for my recent letter to the U.S. President on his reelection, one wishes that President Reagan, after having concentrated on building U.S. material power, will concentrate during the new 4-year presidential term both on the moral dimension vis-a-vis preserving justice and the principles on which the U.S. nation was basically established, and on defending these principles equally in all cases throughout the world. If President Reagan manages to do so, he will thus serve the United States and all mankind. Naturally, we are among the world areas which yearn to see the banner of justice raised correctly.

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Question: You have previously stated that a strong clash will occur if Mondale had won the U.S. presidency. What was your justification for this expectation?

Answer: The subject is basically that of Jerusalem, and it is still one of the most serious problems. Regarding the past, it was said that during the 17-year unity of the Jordan River's East and West Banks, the Jews could not reach the Wailing Wall. This is true, and this is the situation I found in 1953 when Almighty God ordained that I should commence my service in the Jordanian family to which I belong. However, there were reasons for this

situation. Israel did not apply the armistice agreements regarding the Arab Christians' right to reach Nazareth and regarding many other issues. For over 17 years now, the Muslims [in occupied territories] have not been able to go on pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, and others have not been able to visit Jerusalem. Mondale's assertion that he intended to transfer the U.S. Embassy to Jerusalem had he won the presidency is an unacceptable defiance to our Arab and Islamic world.

Question: Do you consider Ronald Reagan's reelection a positive element that can help improve the situation? When does Your Majesty expect this improvement to take place? Within 1 or 2 years, which is the period I personally consider the only available period for a U.S. move before the U.S. Administration again embarks on its calculations for the next elections?

Answer: You are right in thinking 1 or 2 years. As for when we expect any move, I do not really know, because a major part of it is largely related to us in the Arab homeland. The other part is naturally related to how matters will unfold after he assumes power for the second term.

Question: Your Majesty intends to visit the Soviet Union shortly. We would like to ask you frankly what you seek from this visit. Do you expect the Soviets to agree to arm the Jordanian Army with sophisticated weapons, and what are the possibilities of doing so?

Answer: If the visit takes place, we will naturally hold talks with the Soviet Union, as was the case in past years. I believe that we have credibility there now, due to the frankness and clarity of our stands. We may disagree with them at many times and we may agree. If we agree, then we agree; if we disagree, then we disagree. However, our relationship is based on mutual respect. On the other hand, the Soviet Union is a superpower, and has relations and ties with the region. We believe that the Soviets should not be excluded from the attempts to find a solution, especially if we were talking about Resolution 242. We are talking about a resolution issued by the UN Security Council, whose permanent members should assume a special responsibility toward observation, implementation, and follow-up. We call for an international conference in which these permanent member-states and all concerned parties would participate. However, no date has yet been fixed for the visit. Once the date is fixed by them and agree on with us, we will meet and discuss all of these issues and problems. Naturally, the topic of arms is part of bilateral relations.

We again turned toward diversifying our sources of armament. We encountered obstacles with regard to the United States, and we closed this door. It will not be reopened unless the picture changes in a clear manner. We have had Soviet weapons for some time, and we will discuss the possibility of getting other weapons which we need to defend ourselves against dangers. We are also discussing this affair with some weapon-manufacturing European states whose weapons are currently in the hands of our men in the Jordanian Army. We will also discuss bilateral relations in other fields, as well as the region's topics and problems.

Question: We now reach the subject of the international peace conference-- a subject which I hope we will deal with in detail. Your Majesty, you have recently given preference to holding an international peace conference to discuss the Middle East issue, considering this conference the most effective way at present. Any analyst can discover several points that need to be discussed in this regard, such as: What new development makes convening this conference a hopeful road for a solution?

Answer: Regarding what is new, there is the Arab stand expressed in the Fes summit resolutions. There are the UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. There is a strategic alliance between the United States and Israel. There are the Soviets and their position in the region. There is an attempt to make a larger number of states participate in the process so that the issue will not continue to be solely the issue of the Soviet Union and the United States. Personally, I believe that a Soviet-U.S. meeting and dialogue will be natural within a short period of time. At one stage the United States chose to adopt a certain style regarding its intrinsic power. Therefore, the picture in the world changed. It then returned to concentrate on building power. This caused tension in relations between the two states. However, I believe that they will certainly meet and develop mutual understanding at one stage for the welfare of mankind. We want the picture to include the two sides and all concerned parties in the region, in addition to China on the one hand and Britain and France, which represent Europe, on the other. As a beginning, any side wishing to contribute to the process of a lasting peace in this region will have the opportunity to do its best in this regard, because there is no other alternative.

Question: What if the United States and Israel persist in not attending such a conference?

Answer: If the United States and Israel persist in not attending the conference and the picture remains as it is, the region would undoubtedly drift to a new disaster at some stage.

Question : What would the Arab card be at such a conference?

Answer: In my view, the equation will remain as it is: comprehensive withdrawal and recognition of the Palestinians' rights to their national soil in exchange for peace.

Question: Would it be possible, in Your Majesty's opinion, to reach an agreement on this Arab card and in the present circumstances?

Answer: The picture is undoubtedly very shaky. The PLO might meet soon, and this meeting might take place in Amman. Actually they raised the subject with us, and we told them that if all doors are closed to them, they are welcome here. For our part, we feel that before we can ask others to clarify their stands on any subject, we must first establish a position whose nucleus will be a dynamic, responsible Palestinian-Jordanian stand that again

places the initiative or part of it in Palestinian hands, perhaps for the first time. It would then be possible to achieve Arab support and to rally our brothers around this stand. The circles would then grow and expand to include the world, and thus influence matters in a positive direction. This is what we can do and what we can try to achieve. All we are asking is that the Palestinian decision should be a free one--a decision expressing what is in their hearts. We will back them, of course, with all of our resources and capabilities.

However, if matters remain as they are, then I believe this would serve Israel's aims and objectives. Let me give you an example. When President Reagan's plan was proposed, Israel's first reply was to reject it. Its second reply was unfortunately to build settlements with U.S. funds and support. The talk at that time was to stop the settlements operation. The current picture is very different. Not even hints of such a positive approach are made. The suspension of building settlements does not now give us the desired meaning compared with what the situation was 2 years ago. The picture is ugly and developments are moving rapidly. We must cooperate on the Arab-Palestinian-Jordanian level, and then present to the world what serves the cause of our existence and our nation's future and rights.

Question: How would we tackle the question of Arab representation in such a conference? Would we agree on a single Arab delegation, or a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation plus Syria; and, does Your Majesty expect a repetition of the tragic dispute over Arab representation?

Answer: These are secondary procedural matters. The important thing is: Are we confident in ourselves? Are we confident that we have a just cause that we must defend? Do we feel that it is our duty to take action or not?

Question: If politics often divide the Arabs, is it not possible to isolate politics from economics on the basis that a comprehensive Arab economic development is the right approach toward a new type of Arab solidarity in which every Arab can identify his direct interests, especially since, as you know, Arab funds have lost their way toward their real objectives and toward the Arab nation?

Answer: As you said, Arab funds have indeed lost their way on many occasions, unfortunately. Perhaps this has given some people in this world the feeling that since their interests are guaranteed, why bother with our issues: Actually, I do not see any reason why politics should be a cause for dispute. This also applies to economics. We must work for economic integration, and build our present and future on sound foundations. There is no reason--I mean logical reason--to prevent that.

Question: If this were the prevailing logic in the Arab nation, the picture would have been completely different.

Answer: Yes.

Question: Your Majesty, let us now move to the basic issue, which is the Palestine question. This question is now exposed to total loss due to Arab disarray, Palestinian divisions, and Israel's settlement and aggressive policy. Would Your Majesty tell us your viewpoint on how to get out of this situation?

Answer: Our sincere, repeated appeals to our Palestinian kinfold and brothers, particularly throughout the past years, have been to evolve a stand. They should tell the Arab nation and the world: This is our stand. They should not allow the Arabs and others to divide them. They should evolve this stand and then ask for the support of their Arab brothers. Consequently, everyone would support them. They must now allow a situation where all the contradictions of the Arab homeland and the world affect Palestinian decision-making. Actually, this is the situation that has caused all of the tragedies we have experienced so far. Not much time is left. Our kinfold and brothers in the occupied territory have suffered a great deal in all of these years. Therefore, we are hopeful that everyone will rise to the occasion and defend free Palestinian decisionmaking. Their stand must truly express their aspirations and hopes, as well as the feelings and sufferings of the people who must be saved as quickly as possible.

Question: Amman has now been chosen as the venue for the PNC session. What effect do you think this will have on the PLO itself and on your relations with Syria, which insists on rejecting the PNC session and dominating Palestinian decisionmaking?

Answer: We reject the attempts to dominate Palestinian decisionmaking. We denounce this method of dealing with this question and its people and owners. Regarding the session, I cannot predict the results, but I hope that it will be for the general good of the Palestine question and the Palestinian march that is backed by everyone.

Question: We hope Your Majesty will answer the next question with the same frankness. Major questions have been raised on the means of finding a solution to the Palestine question in harmony with international reality, and at the same time that fulfills the Palestinian people's aspirations for an independent entity and self-determination. What is Your Majesty's opinion on the following points: What if Syria indeed sets up an alternative PLO?

Answer: That would be a great harm to the Palestine question and to the Palestinian march at a most critical phase.

Question: What would your attitude be toward this alternative organization?

Answer: Naturally, an alternative organization that is dominated by a certain party in the Arab homeland and that pursues certain policies, aims, and objectives will not be accepted by us, and we will not cooperate with it.

Question: Palestinian disunity is of course saddening to all Arabs. But if a unified Palestinian opinion, which is what we want, becomes impossible, would it then be possible to depend on the new legitimacy stemming from the PNC meetings?

Answer: It will neither be new nor an extension of the existing legitimacy we are defending.

Question: Would it then be possible to go further in the relationship between Jordan and the legitimacy, which I called new but which Your Majesty refused to describe as such, in order to reach a solution that ends the current "fait accompli" imposed on the West Bank and Gaza?

Answer: Let me specify the points on which our interpretation differs from that of many of our brothers. Regarding this question, the right of self-determination means the right of the Palestinians to choose what they want in order to achieve their objectives in the post-liberation period. In the seventies, we proposed that there should be one of three choices: Either the Jordanian-Palestinian relationship will return to what it was before the occupation, or there will be some form of union [ittihad], or there will be an independent entity. The U.S. proposals or plans, especially in recent years, fall short of what they should be under UN Security Council Resolution 242--that is, the necessity of withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories.

In the past our stands in the world contributed to opening the door for the United States and Israel to interfere in an issue in which we believe they do not have the right to interfere. Withdrawal is supposed to take place in exchange for peace.

The Jordanian-Palestinian relationship is supposed to remain between the Jordanians and Palestinians. We must keep this issue away from any process aimed at saving the territory and kinfolk. Otherwise, the door will be opened to parties unrelated to the future of the people, who are sovereign over their territory and who have the right to it. That is very dangerous. Therefore, a long dialogue took place with the PLO. We said: If we have to reach this stage, we are supposed to begin arranging the principles of our one march in order to face the dangers to us. This is in addition to serving our kinfolk and brothers in the occupied territories.

But if you want to think of the future, then let us find a formula. If the objective is clear, it is not impossible to find the formula that satisfies the Jordanians and Palestinians. We will make this formula clear. When the circumstances allow us, when we save the land, and when the rights are regained to their owners, this issue will be presented to the people to express their opinions on it. If we have a certain relationship with the people from whom we came and to whom we belong, we can lay down an acceptable formula. Any process must lead to saving the land and its owners. If it is a matter of an independent state from the beginning, the Palestinian side is supposed to talk about the matter alone, supported by the Arab brothers, including Jordan. If it is a different issue, we must coordinate among ourselves, keeping the Jordanian-Palestinian relationship within the Jordanian-Palestinian and Arab frameworks. We must not allow anybody from outside or Israel to have the right to interfere in this issue.

Question: If it becomes difficult to hold the PNC, what will Jordan's stand be and what will the alternative be at the present time?

Answer: Jordan abides by the decisions it accepts. We discussed the issue in Rabat in 1974 and warned against all dangers and negative points. Our attention was drawn to the positive points. The decision was adopted, and we abide by it. We did not do more than we had already done, although we are very close to our kinfolk and brothers in the occupied territories and to the Palestininas. We feel that we are from them and belong to them; they are from us and belong to us. We will continue to support them as much as we can. However, the decision is precisely that. They assume responsibility for the decision now and in the future.

Question: Your Majesty, the strange thing is that some Arab countries call for Palestinian national unity as a basic condition of holding the PNC. At the same time, these Arab countries refuse to deal with some Palestinian factions, particularly those factions which represent the left wing or extremism. These factions resist concening the PNC. In your opinion, is this stand logical and how do you explain it?

Answer: I explain it as every Arab citizen in the great Arab homeland explains it.

Question: Is it correct that Jordan has set some conditions in exchange for its agreement to hold the PNC in Amman? What are these conditions, if this is correct?

Answer: Jordan did not set any conditions whatever.

Question: A number of meetings have taken place between you and Yasir 'Arafat recently. Would you assess what was discussed in the dialogue?

Answer: I believe they are good beginnings. Our meetings with Yasir 'Arafat and with many Palestinian officials have always been frank. In every stage there were some problems. We confronted these problems, tried to tackle them, and exchanged viewpoints on them. Part of our efforts were devoted to discussing future relations and a political move. After this, the PLO was exposed to dangerous operations in Lebanon. The discussion has resumed now. They are being given the opportunity to meet in the land closest to their homeland. I may have the opportunity to welcome them in Amman, as I welcomed them in Jerusalem in the first meeting which organized the PLO and through which it was established. Perhaps it should be called a step in the right direction. We try to help them and hope we can. We hope they will succeed in unifying their stands in the interest of their cause and that they will assume their full responsibilities. We will support them with all our potential.

Question: What is Your Majesty's opinion on what Israeli officials say about Jordan's being the Palestinians' national homeland? Do you not believe that the continuation of the current Arab situation and the loss of the West Bank's identity pose a threat to the situation in Jordan?

Answer: The threat exists in the full sense of the word. It is represented in the continuous attempts to expand at the expense of the East Bank and the statements that are being made. I believe that the Israeli officials who make these statements mean them.

Jordan represents the last fortress. If this fortress collapses, the Arab homeland's depth will be in danger, and consequently this will further complicate the problem when we find ourselves without a unified stand or summit meetings that would enable us to confront the challenges. The meetings that have taken place in the past were just get-togethers here and there on the road. Continuous action to confront the challenges effectively did not exist. It has not been easy to adopt such action. Of course, if matters developed into an Israeli aggression, we will use everything we have and will sacrifice our souls to defend this land. However, a simple calculation of the support that Israel obtains to build its military and intrinsic power in comparison to what the Arab nation possesses will produce an unsatisfactory result.

Question: There is a clear imbalance?

Answer: Yes, the threat is real. On the other hand, [there is] Israel, but which Israel are we actually talking about? This is the question that we always ask. Israel's initial size began in accordance with the partition decision, then increased in '56 and '67, until it has occupied all of Palestine and territories of other Arab countries, including southern Lebanon. Some say the East Bank is Israeli territory. Actually, the Israeli ambitions are real, the threat exists, and past experiences are alive before us.

Question: The Arab states always expect new initiatives from the United States, the USSR, and the EEC states. At the same time, the Arab states do not say what they want to add to the proposed initiatives, be it Reagan's initiative or the Venice Declaration. So, as Arabs, what do we actually want in this regard in order to implement one of these initiatives?

Answer: What we want is known, and we hope that an effective Arab stand will manifest itself to bring these initiatives into reality.

Question: We always say that these initiatives lack a mechanism or a method to implement them. What can we add to these initiatives to implement them in fact?

Answer: What we have in mind is logical. What can the Arab nation in this great homeland do to confront the existing challenge? Unfortunately, the image now is unsatisfactory.

Question: As Arabs, are we ready to negotiate on the basis of peace in return for land?

Answer: This is a principle. What Israel seeks is to discuss this principle. This cannot take place. Israel has recently succeeded in turning the UN

Security Council resolution and the principles it included into a debatable issue. As we said, Resolution 242 includes comprehensive withdrawal in return for peace and its consequent commitments. I believe this is the Arab stand, in addition to the Palestinian dimension. However, the problem is how to crystallize this situation.

Question: Let us go back to Jordanian-Egyptian relations. You said recently that Jordanian-Egyptian coordination on many Arab issues has reached a good level. Would Your Majesty explain certain basic points concerning this coordination and its aims?

Answer: We are in permanent contact; we consult with each other, exchange information, and will coordinate our work both at present and in the future. Our stands are identical on issues facing our Arab nation, and we should discuss what we can offer or do in the coming stage. I hope I will have the opportunity to visit Egypt as soon as possible and continue dialogue and discussions on these issues and problems. On the bilateral level we have made big strides. God willing, the beginnings are encouraging. Moreover, we are neighbors. We hope the Jordanian and Egyptian brothers will realize that we are two connected links. We hope our relationship will be a model for inter-Arab relations.

Question: Both Egypt and Jordan are keenly interested in developments in the Iraqi-Iranian war. Has the coordination between the two countries included moves to stop the war? In view of your direct contacts with President Saddam Husayn, have you any information on the situation on the Iraqi front?

Answer: We adopt the same position in terms of supporting Iraq. Moreover, we both hope this war will end as soon as possible. We believe that if the problem is borders there are ancient methods: The two sides should discuss the problem and find the required solution. The only remaining element that would be lacking is to establish between the two sides relations based on mutual respect and non-interference in one another's internal affairs. We do not want Iraq to interfere in Iran's affairs, nor do we want Iran to interfere in others' affairs or in the affairs of our brothers in the Gulf. Therefore, we do not understand why the war is going on. Iraq has actually responded to all initiatives to end the war and start negotiations, and has withdrawn its forces to their former positions on the Iraqi border. The war had been going on covertly for some time. When the war broke out, we did not wish it, but we had to support our brothers. We are continuing our support to them with all our resources and energy, but we wish to find an end to the war.

Question: Is there any new information on the Iraqi front?

Answer: The situation at the front is good. I have learned that our brothers there, praise be to God, are as one. They are cohesively united and strong; they are determined to defend their soil and Arabism.

Question: Your Majesty, I am pleased to congratulate you on your birthday. I take this opportunity to tell you that you are the senior Arab ruler in

the region. You have experienced dramatic developments. You have met and dealt with various generations of Arab rulers. What is the gist of your experience over your 32-year journey amid difficult Arab politics?

Answer: Any one of us will gain new experience as the days go by. However, I have accustomed myself to living with people and to be content. I believe that people are brothers, but this nation is fragmented and we must pool all our resources to deal with this problem. Our only aim is to realize a better future for our coming generations. We hope that Almighty God's judgment will be with us and not against us.

AL-AHRAM: We wish you many happy returns of the day and a long life.

CSO: 4400/40

JORDANIAN CENTRAL BANK GOVERNOR INTERVIEW

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[Muhammad Salih Jabir's dispatch]

[Text] A few months ago the Central Bank of Jordan adopted several important decisions that created a large echo throughout the Jordanian financial markets. Most important among them was a decision to amend the position of the branches of foreign banks operating in Jordan, which number eight, in a manner that conforms with the prevailing trade laws in Jordan. Another decision stipulated that foreign banks in Jordan should each acquire shares in local companies at the rate of 15 percent of public deposits.

Since the investment institutions have been waiting a long while for the implementation of these decisions to know their effects on the financial market, AL-RA'Y interviewed the Central Bank Governor [Dr Muhammad Sa'id al-Nabulsi] to inquire about this subject and to know the most important developments of the Jordanian monetary policy.

Question: Several investors attributed the delay in implementing the Central Bank's decision to amend the position of foreign banks in a manner that conforms with the currently prevailing laws to practical difficulties. What stages have the implementation of this decision reached? Does the state of stagnation, from which the financial market is suffering, have anything to do with this delay?

Answer: When we decided to amend the situation of the foreign banks operating in Jordan, our main objective was to apply the prevailing Jordanian laws. In the past, there was no pressing need to apply this to banks. When we found that it was the proper time to do so, we requested the branches of foreign banks to amend their situation and gave them 3 years to implement this decision.

There are eight foreign banks in Jordan. Most of them welcomed this decision and expressed their readiness to fully cooperate in order to attain the required objective. Some of them are even calling for speedy regulations so that they can conform with them as soon as possible. However, the Central Bank realizes that any move in the banking field should not create confusion

that may reflect on the financial market, since this market has been suffering from stagnation for a long time. Moreover, at this stage we have other goals that may be more important; namely, to maintain our current banking sector and protect it against any improper circumstances until its normal activity and growth is restored.

You may note that even some Jordanian banks need to amend their situation vis-a-vis their capital. We gave them all the time they need to safeguard their interests without much pressure because the final objective can be reached through the cooperation and understanding of all. However, this does not mean that we are going back on our decisions, but that we are showing flexibility to attain our goals. Time is not a pressing factor since all understand the essence of the Jordanian policy in this domain.

Question: One of the measures adopted by the Central Bank stipulated that local banks should each acquire shares in local development companies at the rate of 15 percent of the total amount of public deposits. The decision fixed 31 December 1984 as the deadline by which these banks should amend their conditions and comply. Only 2 months are left before the end of this financial year. Are banks responding properly to this decision, or is there cause to believe that the given period will be extended, particularly with regard to foreign banks?

Answer: Some may have misunderstood the purpose of the Central Bank's decision. Our aim was to commit banks to preserve some of their deposits inside Jordan to help the country's economic development process. This is a normal procedure in most world countries. Although the decision fixed a certain percentage of shares and bonds, we are flexible in implementing it.

If a bank preserves bonds beyond the required rate, we do not object to a reduction of this rate if this conforms with the bank's objectives. This applies particularly to the foreign banks which encounter legal difficulties in possessing some Jordanian shares. We are now in the process of contacting the competent authorities to solve such difficulties. As for the banks whose investments in bonds and shares are less than the required rate, we gave them an extra period of 6 months to amend their position.

Question: All economic indicators so far disclosed point to a possible improvement of the local economic situation this year, whether in the field of increasing exports or maintaining the balance of payments or even some surplus. However, local activities are still in need of incentives on the monetary or financial policy level. Are there any studies or plans to adopt suitable measures in this regard?

Answer: We believe that the results we will achieve this year will be better than what we expected in 1983, thanks to the agreements reached with other countries. This will certainly reflect on the entire economic situation. However, we should not forget that these efforts should be intensified as a precaution against any unexpected future development.

Our foreign currency reserves are still maintaining their previous levels. We hope that these reserves will be bolstered by the projects in which we have invested huge sums of money. Nevertheless, exports remain the main source of foreign currency that will compensate for any shortage resulting from any effect in local sources.

Regarding monetary policy, we believe that the Jordanian dinar is currently reflecting its real value because the fact that it is linked to the Special Drawing Rights gives us flexibility in pricing the dinar according to appropriate margins. In accordance with the world monetary situation we benefit from this flexibility. We do not see any reason to amend this policy because it has proven its effectiveness at a time when most world currencies are facing acute fluctuations.

It should be noted that the current circumstances require us to adopt further measures aimed at protecting local industry as this will help it become stronger and will reduce the imports which exhaust our foreign currency reserves.

CSO: 4400/30

## PLANNING COUNCIL CHIEF ON DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

JN040747 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 4 Nov 84 p 3

[Text] Amman (PETRA)--The present 1981-5 national development plan is nearing completion and the government has already embarked on drawing up main outlines for a new five-year development plan. The aims and objectives of the current plan have not been fully realised in view of the retreat in political and economic activities in Jordan and the whole Middle East region over the past few years, according to Dr Ziyad Fariz, the National Planning Council secretary general.

In an interview with the Jordanian News Agency, PETRA, Dr Fariz said that Jordan was affected by the general situation prevailing in the region in the past few years in two main spheres; firstly, Arab financial aid to the central government of Jordan subsided and thus adversely affected public spending, subsequently reducing general economic activity and economic growth. Secondly, a recession in neighbouring Arab countries caused a drop in their demand for Jordanian manpower, leading to a reduction in money transfers by Jordanians to their country. The prevailing economic situation also adversely affected Jordan's exports which had raised economic growth rates in the first five-year development plan.

Dr Fariz said that the 1981-85 five-year plan is an extension of the development process adopted by Jordan in the 1960s. In an appraisal of the plan, he said, one can say that it aimed at maintaining the momentum in economic growth appeared in the process of implementing the previous three-year and five-year plans.

## Financial Aid

But the 1981-85 plan had taken into account a constant flow of Arab financial aid to Jordan to help it carry out its schemes and had originally planned to spend JD 3,300 million, compared with JD 222 million in the first five-year plan, Dr Fariz said. A total of 61 per cent of the money were assigned for public investments and 39 per cent for the private sectors' investment, he added.

According to Dr Fariz the plan aimed at realising a continuous annual gross national product (NGP) of 11 per cent, and envisaged an 8.5 per cent growth

in annual services and 15 per cent in the production of commodities, and had provided for an increase in government reliance on local revenues which should cover recurrent expenditure and reduce the margin of the deficit in the balance of trade. He said the plan aimed at expanding and improving health, education, housing communications and other services in the kingdom.

#### Growth Rates

Dr Fariz said that, despite the circumstances which adversely affected Jordan's economy, local production continued to realize a rate of growth exceeding in some cases those achieved in developing and developed nations. In the 1981-83 period, he said, the economic growth averaged 6.9 per cent against 11 per cent envisaged by the plan. The rate of growth in industry, mining, electricity, water, construction, trade and services has dropped, but there were constant increases in agricultural production and a noticeable growth in transport, defence, communications and public administration fields, Dr Fariz pointed out.

He said that the real annual growth in the agriculture sector between 1981 and 1983 averaged 8.2 per cent against 7.7 per cent as envisaged by the five-year plan. This, he added, is attributed to the employment of modern methods and techniques in sowing seeds, the application of fertilisers and in developing irrigation systems. Yet Dr Fariz said, the deficit in the balance of agricultural trade continued to exhibit a constant increase due mainly to a growth in population and a rise in the average individual income. Records show that the deficit, which amounted to JD 95 million in 1980, grew to JD 144 million in 1983, Dr Fariz explained.

#### Industry, Mining Sectors

Despite a drop in industrial and mineral products, the industrial and mining business in Jordan realised a growth of 63 per cent in 1983 against 17.7 per cent as envisaged by the five-year plan, and this is due mainly to the shrinking world market and a delay in production, coupled with a drop in demand for Jordanian potash and fertilisers, Dr Fariz said.

In this period, he said public and private expenditure increased by 10.1 per cent, against 8.8 per cent as envisaged by the five-year plan. It was hoped that the five-year plan would increase capital investment in Jordan from JD 340 million in 1980 to JD 561 million in 1983 at standing prices, that is, an average increase of 18 per cent, but the actual increase during this period was a mere 8 per cent, Dr Fariz added.

Referring to an official communique by the prime minister on the need to begin preparing for the new five-year plan, Dr Fariz said that preparation for this plan will be conducted through consultation with various ministries and government departments. He said that after making studies of their needs, and projects in every sector, these ministries will submit their projects and plans to the NPC which in turn will re-study them, pinpoint the areas that should be given priority in each sector, and this of course will be conducted in

cooperation and consultation with the relevant departments and specially formed committees and in line with government-set guidelines and objectives.

#### Continuous Process

Dr Fariz stressed that the process of planning should be continuous. First comes the laying of a draft plan then a study of the draft and continuous revision of the plan for possible amendments to conform with long range targets, he said. So it is really premature to talk about details of the general objectives of the coming plan. However, he said that this plan is bound to tackle two important areas: First, it will have to make provisions for increasing an overall growth in agriculture, industry and services and secondly it should provide for the development of each governorate separately with the aim of providing the basic requirements for their population.

Dr Fariz said that the NPC has already embarked on preparing studies and conducting comprehensive surveys to familiarise itself with the economic activities of various governorates prior to preparing an action programme designed to create job opportunities for all the sectors of the population in the light of available resources.

He said that the next plan will aim at stemming the movement of people from rural regions and other urban areas to Amman. The NPC has already set up teams to tour the governorates and to gather information in preparation for the coming plan, Dr Fariz concluded.

CSO: 4400/30

## BRIEFS

AMMAN INTERNATIONAL RADIO STATION--A new radio station is to be built near the present one in Amman. The station is expected to be received in all parts of the world. Broadcasts will be in Arabic and English. The new site will have a neat network of roadswith entrances and exists linking it with Queen Alia International Airport. There will be four sub studios one of which will have the capacity for 100 musicians and 250 audience. Other studios will be fully equipped for performing and acting purposes. The main building will consist of two floors. The first floor will receive transmissions from international news agencies and for monitoring other radio stations in addition to news section, public relations, rest rooms, director general office, control rooms and files and archives section. The 2d floor will house a musical library, regular programmes, conference room, lecturing room, news studio, cafeteria, offices, and a grand reception hall. The project will cost around JD 4.5 million. The area of the building will reach 2,500 square meters. The designs are ready together with tender documents and have been submitted to the Cabinet for approval. [sentence as published] [Text] [Amman THE JERUSALEM STAR in English 14 Nov 84 p 4 JN]

FIVE EARTHQUAKES RECORDED--Amman (PETRA)--Five earthquakes ranging from 3.1 to 4.7 in the Richter scale were registered late Sunday and Monday by the seismological centre of the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources. A tremor measuring 4.7 in the Richter scale was registered by the centre at 01:15 a.m. Monday seven kilometers southeast of Amman. Another tremor measuring 4.2 on the Richter scale was registered Monday at 1:44 a.m. 19 kilometres southeast of Nablus in occupied West Bank. The third tremor, occurred Monday at 6:51 a.m. 10 kilometers northwest of Salt, measured 4.1 on the Richter scale. The centre also registered two tremors Sunday. The first measuring 4.1 in the Richter scale southeast of Salt while the second, measuring 3.1, was registered southeast of Nablus. [Text] [Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 6 Nov 84 p 1 JN]

CSO: 4400/30

BRIEFS

NATIONALITY ACQUISITION LAW FOR MARRIED WOMEN--AL-QABAS has learned from well-informed sources in the Interior Ministry that foreign women married to Kuwaiti citizens have the right to acquire Kuwaiti nationality in accordance with Article 8 of the amended Kuwaiti nationality law number 70 for the year 1966, which states that "a foreign woman married to a Kuwaiti is not eligible to become a Kuwaiti citizen until she announces her desire to acquire the nationality and unless the marriage life continues to exist for 5 years since the time she announces her desire." [Excerpt] [Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 25 Oct 84 p 2 GF]

CSO: 4400/31

## LEBANON

### BRIEFS

BEIRUT AIRPORT ACTIVITY--The Research and Studies Agency of the General Civil Aviation Directorate announced that the activity recorded in Beirut International Airport last September was as follows: 691 landings, 690 takeoffs, 57,681 arrivals and 66,756 departures, including 32,289 passengers to the Arab countries. The number of transit passengers totaled 1,303. It is to be noted that this activity is parallel to the airport's pace of activity in recent years and that it comes as a result of the relative security relaxation during the summer after a halt of more than 4 months in the airport's activity. [Text] [Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 400, 20 Oct 84 p 53] 8494

AL-SHUF TOURIST CONVENTION--Al-Shuf Tourist Convention, located in B'aqlin, al-Shuf (southeast of Beirut), is scheduled to be opened at the beginning of next November under the auspices of Walid Junblatt, the minister of tourism. This project is the first of its kind in al-Shuf area which has in past years lacked modern tourist facilities, such as hotels and restaurants, because tourist activity had been concentrated mainly in such centers as 'Alayh, Bhamdun and Kasrawan. The new convention center includes a theater, a hotel, a commercial market, a party hall, two restaurants and an athletic club, is equipped with all the means of rest and recreation and is prepared to accommodate customers throughout the year. [Text] [Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 400, 20 Oct 84 p 53] 8494

SOUTHERN GAS BOTTLING CENTER--Unigas Company (owned by Nabih al-Saydani and partners) has developed the gas bottling center located in al-'Aqibiyah area, near al-Zahrani, in the south. The company has done this despite the difficult circumstances that discourage businessmen from embarking on any new investment. The development introduced provides for the construction of a new plant capable of storing 1,200 tons of liquid gas in a cylindrical tank with (a capacity of 600 tons) and in six other rectangular tanks, (each with a capacity of 100 tons). The center is now capable of receiving ships with a capacity of 1,200 tons and it has bottling machinery capable of filling 1,200 bottles an hour. The total investment in this plant amounts to 20 million Lebanese pounds and this sum has been invested under the most difficult circumstances. The center is now capable of competing with the Israeli gas invading the south's markets, this is, if the Israeli occupation authorities will permit gas vessels to dock in al-Zahrani, considering that the capacity of al-Zahrani refinery amounts currently to 500 tons of liquid gas a month whereas the center needs 1,500 tons a month. [Text] [Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 400, 20 Oct 84 p 53] 8494

## OMANI OIL MINISTER ON PIPELINE TO INDIAN OCEAN

GF182002 Manama WAKH in Arabic 1815 GMT 18 Nov 84

[Excerpts] London, 18 Nov (WAKH)--Sa'id Ahmad al-Shanfari, Omani minister of petroleum and minerals, has stated that a strategic project to build an oil pipeline to connect the Gulf countries with the Indian Ocean is being studied at the petroleum and minerals college at Ghahran University and that it will decide on it within 3 months.

In a statement to the London-based economic-industrial magazine INMA' AL-KHALIJ which will be published this week on the occasion of the fifth GCC summit in Kuwait, Al-Shanfari said the project is strategic more than economic and most of the GCC countries have a realistic view of it and that Iraq has expressed the desire to connect the line with the proposed line which will be set up in Saudi Arabia.

Al-Shanfari ruled out that there is any problem in OPEC. Daily reports indicate that demand for oil is a little more than production and that the recent storm which occurred in OPEC was because Norway, the UK, and Nigeria cut their prices, he said. He expressed the hope that there will be some cooperation on prices among OPEC members. The GCC oil ministers are determined to unify OPEC and Riyadh is also determined to stabilize prices and has adopted a decision with some customers to delay some shipments, he said. In view of this policy and philosophy, there will be no problem because consumption has increased by 2 percent, a thing which gives more flexibility to OPEC countries after the market improves, he added.

The Omani minister of petroleum and minerals affirmed that his government is doing its best to abide by the OPEC ideas, views, and prices in spite of the fact that Oman is not an OPEC member. He denied that Oman intends to cut its production to help resolve the oil market crisis.

CSO: 4400/31

## BRIEFS

SULTAN STATES ECONOMIC DIVERSIFICATION--His Majesty Sultan Qabus ibn Sa'id has announced the determination to continue to diversity the sultanate's economy to alleviate dependence on oil sources. He noted that this policy will receive utmost priority. In a statement to the largely-circulated magazine MIDDLE EAST ECONOMIC DIGEST, His Majesty dealt with future development plans in the sultanate and said special stress will be put on the third 5-year plan which will be implemented soon. Similar priority will be given to agriculture and to other sectors of industry, His Majesty added. He said that one of the priorities of the third 5-year plan will be to improve health services, power, water, and housing utilities and to improve markets outside the capital. His Majesty the Sultan said huge reserves of marble of the highest quality and other minerals have been discovered with promising quantities which will be exploited. He also said that industries will be improved and expanded to include other areas in the sultanate and that there are plans to set up more technical colleges. [Text] [Muscat Domestic Service in Arabic 1300 GMT 11 Nov 84 GF]

SULTAN DECREES ISSUED--Sultan Qabus ibn Sa'id issued three sultan decrees. The first decree, No 80/84 appointed Sultan ibn Hamad ibn Hilal al-Samar as adviser to the Interior Ministry. The second decree, No 81/84, states that after reviewing the sultan decree No 26/75 on the law of ordaining the administrative network of the state and its amendments and the Sultan decree No 5/80 on the lands law and article 7 of the Sultan decree No 3/83 on the law of Omani citizenship, the following was decided: The enclosed regulations will be enforced to lay claim to government lands. The third decree, No 88/84, amends the first term of article 3 of the Sultan decree No 26/77 concerning retail traders and becomes as follows: To be an Omani citizen he must be native, or 3 years should have passed and his normal residence should be in Oman. [Summary] [Muscat Domestic Service in Arabic 1300 GMT 24 Oct 84 GF]

CSO: 4400/31

## PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

### FATAH'S AL-NATSHAH ON PNC AGENDA, PEACE PROSPECTS

PM161546 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 15 Nov 84 p 3

[Interview with Fatah Central Committee member and representative in Saudi Arabia Rafiq Al-Natshah by Yusuf al-Hamdani in Riyadh; date not given]

[Text] [Al-Hamdani] We still hear about Palestinian differences. Does that mean that the efforts to resolve these differences have failed?

[Al-Natshah] There are differences in the Palestinian arena. Nobody can deny that. Over the past months we, in participation with the Algerian and South Yemeni brothers, have made serious and strenuous efforts, in addition to the efforts made at government levels, to restore normal relations between the PLO and Syria. Saudi Arabia, Algeria, and the PDRY made such efforts--but despite all these efforts the required success was not achieved. That is regrettable. We cannot say that the differences have anything to do with democracy because they have exceeded the limits of democracy and legitimacy. They are radical and negative.

[Al-Hamdani] Some people are saying that if the PNC session is held before the differences are resolved there will be a split within the PNC itself.

[Al-Natshah] We have exhausted all possible governmental and popular means in our attempt to find a formula for the cooperation of all Palestinian sides. Although we had numerous oral and written agreements, the other parties have not honored them. Convening the PNC is not a question of charity or luxury. It is the national duty of the Palestinian leadership. Either the PNC meets or the leadership steps aside and hands responsibility over to others. It is a national duty that the PNC should convene with its legitimate institutions and in accordance with its bylaws. The threats to form an alternate organization are not strange. It would not be strange if new organizations and groups emerged--but that, of course, is not what the Palestinian people want. We are confident that no official with a national and pan-Arab sense of responsibility will do such a thing. In the future everyone will be considering how to return to the mother organization and how to do their duty democratically through the PLO as the Palestinian people wish them to do.

[Al-Hamdani] While others have been threatening to convene an alternate national council, Fatah has decided to hold the PNC's 17th session 22 November

in Amman. Do you not think that this creates confusion as to the question of legitimacy?

[Al-Natshah] What we know is that there is one PNC and that it will meet in accordance with the PLO bylaws. Some will attend the meeting and some will oppose it. Opposition is supposed to be effected within the framework of the legitimate organs and institutions. We recall that the PFLP once sponsored the rejection front and withdrew from the PLO's Executive Committee. It stayed out of the Executive Committee for 2 years, but then it naturally returned to it and participated in the implementation of the same resolutions and programs adopted by the PNC. Any attempt by some to form an alternate organization on illegal and illegitimate foundations in violation of the bylaws would have very negative effects on the Palestinians and on Palestinian action. The Palestinian legitimacy stemming from the PLO's legitimate council is the one upheld by the people.

[Al-Hamdani] It has been reported that some PNC members have received direct threats and warnings against attending the PNC session. Have these members been discounted as far as securing a quorum is concerned?

[Al-Natshah] We have learned that some states intend to prevent some PNC members from attending the session, and have threatened not to allow them to return if they did attend. This has not been confirmed. Israel did certainly threaten the PNC members residing in the occupied territory and told them that whoever leaves would not be allowed to return. That is why those who live in the occupied Arab territories or in southern Lebanon and those who have been martyred or are dead will not be counted in the quorum calculation. As regards those residing in the Arab states, we cannot go by rumors about their attendance or nonattendance, but if they are officially, or for practical reasons, prevented from attending the PNC session then they will not be dropped from the quorum count. They will be viewed as members who have not been able to attend and will be regarded as absent members.

[Al-Hamdani] Which organizations will attend the PNC session in Amman?

[Al-Natshah] The PNC is not and never was a council of organizations. Every member attending the meeting does so as a representative of the Palestinian people and not his organization, although he is nominated to the council by his organization. That is why we expect many members who belong to various organizations to attend regardless of whether or not the leaders of the organizations attend.

[Al-Hamdani] What are the topics on the PNC agenda?

[Al-Natshah] The council will tackle the following issues:

1. The condition of our people under Israeli occupation with a view to strengthening their steadfastness and appealing to the Arab states to honor their commitments.
2. Means of developing the armed struggle in the light of the new realities at the Palestinian, Arab, and international levels.

3. Exposure of the U.S. plots against the Palestinian people and revolution as well as the absolute U.S. support for Israel and the U.S.-Israeli strategic alliance, and condemnation of all U.S. attempts to obliterate the Palestinian people's identity and prevent them from attaining their right to self-determination.

4. All the Arab states will be urged to support the PLO and restore normal relations and military and political coordination with it. I can confirm that no PNC members will be able to adopt decisions contrary to the previous decisions because nothing has happened in the Palestinian arena to warrant a radical change in the political line. I believe that the new resolutions will not be much different from the previous session's resolutions.

5. A call for an end to the Iraq-Iran war.

6. A call for the restoration of normal relations with Egypt away from Camp David.

7. Restoration of normal relations with Syria.

8. Support for our people in southern Lebanon and for the Lebanese resistance in the same way as we support our people and forces in the occupied territory.

9. A call for a general Arab understanding.

10. Reform of all the PLO's organs and institutions to purge them of all the suspect elements who exceed the PLO's national limits.

The PNC is its own master and is entitled to all the necessary internal decisions in the context of its prerogatives in accordance with the bylaws. We still wish that PNC Speaker Khalid al-Fahum would attend, but if he does not attend then it will be up to the council to replace him or keep him in his post or to accept or reject his excuse.

[Al-Bandani] How do you view Palestinian-Saudi relations?

[Al-Natshah] The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has never interfered in the Palestinian people's internal affairs except to provide what is asked of it or to resolve differences between the PLO and other Arab sides. On King Fahd's instructions it has made many public attempts to mediate, mend the rift, and restore normal conditions, but regrettably the desired results have not been achieved. The Saudi leadership has tried at all levels. We appreciate that. We have always reported developments to it promptly.

[Al-Bandani] How true are the reports about a Palestinian-Jordanian agreement to set up a Palestinian Arab state?

[Al-Natshah] I am sorry to see such reports in certain publications. I want to make it clear to everyone, particularly the readers affected by such

rumors, that no such thing has happened or will happen before we have territory on which to set up our entity which would then establish relations with Jordan in implementation of PNC resolutions and on the basis of the special ties between the two peoples. We are not fond of forming governments, be it a local government, a central government, or a government in exile. Fatah's agenda does not include any item related to a government in exile. These are wrong assumptions which some people might unjustifiably exploit in their campaign. I state clearly that no such thing has been discussed on the Palestinian side and that there is no intention of doing so in the near future, eager as we are to maintain all kinds of peaceful relations with Jordan.

[Al-Hamdani] The restoration of Egyptian-Jordanian relations, the statements about withdrawal from southern Lebanon, Murrat's statement about the region, and Reagan's statements indicate that something is happening. Do you not agree?

[Al-Natshah] I want to make it clear to everyone that the rumors about peaceful solutions is untrue. There is no such thing. The rumors said about such plans is meant to attract people's attention and make them choose mirages and illusions. The United States is not interested in the region. It does not want any kind of peace, and it only has one plan. The proof is that although the Labor Party has been in power and despite all the uproar which accompanied that development, the Israeli forces are still in southern Lebanon. You must undoubtedly be aware of former Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky's statement in which he said that [Israeli Prime Minister] Shimon Peres who we thought was moderate in dealing with the not need the Palestinian people's recognition of Israel and was only prepared to discuss withdrawal.

The United States has lost its credibility. I am not the only one who says this. King Husayn has said it openly. If Israel says no to peace, if the United States has no peace to offer, and if Jordan says that it has no peace to offer, then what peace are they talking about? This state of affairs makes us reconsider our plans. Through the solidarity and cooperation of the Arab and Islamic states we can exert pressure in the interest of the Palestinian people in the region fulfilling the minimum requirements of the Palestinian people.

CSO: 4400/30

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

DFLP'S HAWATIMAH INTERVIEWED ON PNC

JN161855 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic 1720 GMT 16 Nov 84

[Telephone interview with Nayif Nawatimah, secretary general of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, in Damascus by Radio Monte Carlo correspondent Antoine Abu Samrah--date not given; recorded]

[Text] [Antoine Abu Samrah] All observers are waiting to see what position Nayif Nawatimah will adopt. You are said to be the one who will tip the balance in the Palestinian equation following Yasir 'Arafat's call for convening the PNC in Amman on 22 November. You are trying to postpone the meeting in order to avoid, as you have often said, division in the Palestinian arena. Now you are trying to achieve a postponement through the Executive Committee meeting that will take place in Tunis tomorrow. What do you expect of this committee meeting despite the fact that Dr George Habash, for example, will not take part?

[Nayif Hawatimah] Our call is based on achieving Palestinian national unity with the least possible losses--achieving the unity of the PLO, the major achievement of the Palestinian people. Therefore, we raised a slogan that rejects unilateral actions and adventurous disruption but supports activating the PLO's institutions--the Executive Committee and Central Council. Moreover, we called for initiating a comprehensive dialogue in preparation for the next session. On this basis, the unilateral action in calling for convening the 17th session in Amman must stop.

We believe that the possibility of a national, unitary salvation does exist. We are supported in this view by the initiative of the 37 PNC members in Amman, who represent all the Palestinian resistance factions and who clearly announced their support for activating the Executive Committee and Central Council and who opposed the unilateral call for convening the 17th session. We are also supported in this view by the sons of the occupied land--the West Bank, Jerusalem, and Gaza Strip. I have before me now a petition signed by more than 200 prominent dignitaries and trade unions starting with Bassam al-Shak'ah and ending with the last trade union in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. They all voice their opposition to any unilateral action and adventurous disruption and their support for activating the PLO, the Executive Committee, and the PLO's Central Council in return for postponing the 17th session

until a comprehensive dialogue is held in order to achieve a comprehensive agreement, in light of which the 17th PNC session will be convened. This is based on the 16th session resolutions and the Aden-Algiers agreement, which constitutes a sound basis for restoring the PLO's unity.

All the local Arab municipal councils in Galilee, Negev, and the triangle will hold a general conference today to give an opinion similar to ours, thus affirming the unity of the Palestinian people in the areas occupied in 1948 with their people in areas occupied in 1967 and in the diaspora. On this basis, we expect that this general stand by the majority of our people will find a response from the brothers in Fatah who took unilateral action and from the brothers in Fatah who took unilateral action and from the others who are exercising the policy of disrupting the PLO's institutions.

The PLO Executive Committee will meet either tomorrow or the day after tomorrow with the constitutional majority in accordance with the initiative of the 37 PNC members in Amman. On this basis, a decision will be made postponing the session, calling the Central Council to meet, and forming a preparatory committee to achieve a comprehensive national dialogue in preparation for convening a successful national council--a national unity council and not a council for dismemberment and destruction of the PLO's unity.

[Abu Samrah] However, if the PLO Executive Committee convenes and reaches no result to convince Yasir 'Arafat, who has frequently said that he will convene the PNC on the set time and place--and if 'Arafat insists on this--then what will your stand be?

[Hawatimah] In that case, Brother Yasir 'Arafat will be opting for a political decision whose results will be very serious. This means that he has decided to join the Amman-Cairo axis with its political trends on the basis of the Reagan plan, be it amended or not. We will not stand on the side of that policy. However, if 'Arafat responds to reason and the unionist political reality expressed in the PLO's phased [Marhali] program, the PNC resolutions, particularly the 16th PNC session, and the Aden-Algiers agreement which Abu Jihad [Khalil al-Wazir] signed on behalf of the Fatah Central Committee, of whom 'Arafat is a member--if he responds to this, then this means that we have saved the PLO's unity, because saving the PLO's unity means saving the Palestinian people's unity. With PLO unity, the Palestinian people will be fragmented, as was the case between 1948 and 1967. If that happens, our people's legitimate and sole representative will be lost, and our national question, which is a question of people, land, and an independent state, will turn into an issue of borders between Israel and the neighboring Arab states in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 242.

This is why the issue is very serious. It is much more serious than acting at one's discretion. We must resort to the PLO's program, the PNC resolutions, and the Aden-Algiers agreement, which all say that the PLO is a wide national front for our people's classes including all their political, organizational, and ideological groups. We must respect all this and not turn the PLO into a means of fragmentation in the hands of this or that faction or this or that leader.

[Abu Samrah] I understand that if Yasir 'Arafat insists on convening the PNC in Amman next week, then an estrangement will take place between you and him. Is any compromise possible?

[Hawatimah] The compromise was already proposed by the 37 PNC members in Amman and the forces of the Democratic Alliance which agreed in Aden during the period 19-24 October, with the participation of PDRY Chairman 'Ali Nasir Muhammad. This agreement is based on reactivating the PLO's institutions, the PLO Executive Committee and the PLO Central Council, to pave the way for a comprehensive national dialogue and to prepare for the PNC's next session in return for canceling any threats to convene a one-color PNC at the hands of a one faction or one group of that faction. This agreement is also based on safeguarding the PLO's unity on the basis of reactivating the PLO Executive Committee, the PLO Central Council, and comprehensive dialogue as an alternative to unilateral and adventurous calls which represent two sides of a destructive coin that is aimed at turning the PLO into splinter groups that would split the Palestinian people into separated islands and turn our struggle 20 years back to the situation before the June aggression in 1967.

This is the balanced solution. The compromise solution we propose is supported by the 37 PNC members in Jordan. It is also supported by all personalities, organizations, and the municipal councils in the territories occupied in 1967 and 1948.

[Abu Samrah] Thank you, Brother Nayif.

CSO: 4400/30

BRIEFS

'ARAFAT PRAISES PLO-GDR RELATIONS--Brother Leader Abu 'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat] has said: We will not forget the GDR's support for the PLO during the Zionist-Arab siege of Beirut and Tripoli. The brother leader asserted that the strong ties between the Palestinian and GDR peoples will continue in the future. He added that our people will always appreciate this comradely, fair solidarity. This statement came during 'Arafat's opening in the Palestinian Documentation Center, which uses a microfilm system, in the Tunisian capital yesterday. The opening was attended by the GDR engineering team, which offered the equipment to the PLO documentation center as a gift from the GDR. The GDR ambassador in Tunis, who attended the ceremony expressed the hope that the Palestinian people will achieve their legitimate objectives represented in their right to self-determination and to establishing their independent state on their right to self-determination and to establishing their independent state on their national soil under the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. [Text] [Baghdad Voice of PLO in Arabic 1615 GMT 13 Nov 84 JN]

CSO: 4400/30

## BRIEFS

AID INSTALLMENT TO PLO--Riyadh-Rafiq al-Natshah (Abu Shakir), member of the PLO Executive Committee and its representative in Saudi Arabia, said that the PLO has received \$28.5 million being the sum of the Kingdom's financial obligations toward the PLO and toward supporting the Palestinian people in the occupied territories. Abu Shakir expressed thanks to King Fahd and to the Saudi people for their attitude in giving aid to the Palestinian people and the PLO. Al-Natshah called on all the Arab countries to hasten to fulfill their obligations to the PLO in view of the deterioration of the conditions of the Palestinian citizens living under Zionist occupation. It is understood that the Kingdom is the first country to meet its financial obligations to the PLO in full. It pays this amount to the PLO every 3 months. [AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT Bureau Report: "Al-Natshah: Saudi Arabia Has Fulfilled its Obligations to Support Palestinian People"] [Text] [London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 21 Nov 84 p 1 PM]

CSO: 4400/31

## SYRIA

### AMBASSADOR TO UNITED STATES NOTES 'UNDERSTANDING OF SYRIAN ROLE'

London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 1 Nov 84 p 3

[Article: "Syrian Ambassador in Washington to AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT: United States Is Aligned with Israel But It Understands Syrian Role in Lebanon"]

[Text] Washington--Rafiq Juwayhati, Syria's ambassador to the United States, said that the U.S. alignment with Israel and its encouragement of Israel to persist in its policy of expansion, occupation, construction of settlements and denial of the Palestinian people's rights still impedes the improvement of Syrian-U.S. relations. But the ambassador also said that "there is some change in the U.S. view of Syria's role in Lebanon."

In an exclusive interview with AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT, the Syrian ambassador added that the United States is increasing its alignment with Israel through unconditional financial and military aid. He said further that "it would behoove the United States to make it conditional that Israel stop the construction of settlements in the occupied Arab territories instead of continuing to support Israel."

The ambassador also discussed Israel's conditions for withdrawing its forces from the Lebanese territories, saying: "Security Council Resolutions 508 and 509 require Israel to withdraw immediately and without any conditions. Israel is now facing firm Lebanese resistance and this is what has compelled it to think of withdrawing. As for Israel's conditions, they are totally incompatible with Lebanon's sovereignty."

Regarding the outcome of Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad's latest visit to Moscow, Ambassador Juwayhati said:

"President al-Asad has been in complete agreement with the Soviet leaders on exerting full efforts to achieve the unity of the PLO and to prevent its division because this will take it further away from the goal of liberation and will split the PLO into warring factions."

The ambassador added: "The cause of liberating the Palestinian homeland must rise above all personal considerations. Moreover, the unity of the organization and of the cause requires a sincere and fruitful dialogue to eliminate the causes of complaint. It will then be possible for the Palestinian

National Council to set matters aright and to entrench the bases of cooperation between the PLO and Syria."

Concluding the interview, the ambassador underlined his country's support for holding an international conference to find a solution to the Middle East crisis, saying that any attempts built on partitioning the issue and on dealing separately with one party to the exclusion of others will only lead to further tension and to an escalation of the crisis.

8494

CSO: 4404/59

## AFGHANISTAN

### EGYPTIAN SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE PAYS VISIT

LD192314 Kabul Domestic Service in Pashto 1530 GMT 19 Nov 84

[Text] An Egyptian solidarity committee delegation, headed by (Mohammad Yabd al-Rahman), general director of mosques in the Egyptian Ministry of Wadf, is currently on a friendly visit to our revolutionary country at the invitation of the DRA peace, solidarity, and friendship organization. It met this morning with Mawlawi a'bdul Wali Hojjat, head of the department of Islamic affairs; deputies, and a number of department officials.

A BIA correspondent reports that during the meeting Mawlawi Hojjat spoke about the principled policy of the party and DRA Government of respect for the sacred religion of Islam and the facilities that our revolutionary state has provided for the people to perform their religious rites. He said: since the victory of the glorious revolution, some 40 new mosques have opened in Kabul city and hundreds of mosques in the country's provinces and the capital have been fundamentally repaired; about 200 million Afghanis have been given assistance to imams, preachers, and the muezzin of mosques. Fuel has also been provided for mosques and takia khanas [shiite worship places] in the capital and the provinces.

According to another report, the Egyptian solidarity committee delegation this morning paid a visit to the theology faculty of Kabul University and affirmed that the curriculum of that faculty was filled with Islamic spirit from the civil, criminal and legal standpoints.

The Egyptian solidarity committee delegation includes: (Mohammad a'bd al-Fattah Awda), a well-known journalist for ROSE AL-YUSUF; (Ahmad Abd al-Latif); (Muhammad abd al-Adhim), the economic editor for AL-AHRAM; and (Muhammad Sami Hassan abd al-Rahman, the well-known AL-AHRAM journalist and general secretary of the Egyptian journalists.

CSO: 4695/01

## PAPER REPORTS PRESIDENT SINGH'S TALKS IN MAURITIUS

Prime Minister, External Affairs Minister

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 24 Oct 84 p 9

[Text] PORT LOUIS, October 23 (PTI)--INDIA today assured all possible assistance to Mauritius in its socio-economic development and agreed to enlarge the areas of co-operation between the two countries in the fields of education, culture, technology, technical know-how, health and medicine.

India's keen interest in the overall progress of Mauritius and its willingness to further co-operate in larger areas was conveyed to the Mauritian Prime Minister, Mr. Anerood Jugnauth, when he called on the President, Mr. Zail Singh here today. During their informal talks, the two leaders exchanged views on bilateral issues and matters of mutual interest, including the situation in this region and increasing superpower rivalry in the Indian Ocean.

India's commitment to assist Mauritius in its economic projects was again reiterated when the minister of state for external affairs, Mr. A. A. Rahim, called on the Mauritian prime minister, this afternoon.

Mr. Jugnauth and Mr. Rahim reviewed the progress of some of the ongoing projects in which India was providing technical assistance. The bilateral relations and regional tensions also figured during the informal talks. Later, Mr. Rahim had a meeting with the Mauritian deputy prime minister, Sir Gaetan Duval and the foreign minister, Mr. Anil Gayan.

## History Re-Enacted

Mr. Zail Singh, this morning visited "Coolie Ghaat" the historic port of disembarkment of the first batch of the Indian labourers which had landed here on November 2, 1834. He was received at the immigration square by the minister for employment, social security and national solidarity, Mr. Bundhun.

The whole scene of the arrival of the Indian immigrants at "Coolie Ghaat" and the manner in which they were treated was re-enacted by a group of young Mauritians. The hutments which they had put up on landing here were also shown to the President.

Later, Mr. Zail Singh visited the company garden and laid a wreath at the foot of the slave monument. There he was received by the deputy prime minister, Mr. Gaetan Duval. Mr. Zail Singh was also the chief guest at an international seminar organised at the Mahatma Gandhi Institute by the national organising committee for the 150th anniversary celebrations of the Indian Emancipation and abolition of slavery. A large number of Indian scholars, historians and writers were among the participants from various countries in Africa, Europe and south east Asia.

The Mauritian Prime Minister is hosting a dinner in honour of the President tonight.

#### Visit Highlighted

Mr. Zail Singh's visit is being viewed as another milestone in Indo-Mauritian relations. The pro-government paper "Le Socialiste" in its editorial says "the Indo-Mauritian co-operation is ever growing. In what ever direction we turn in our country the friendly and cordial relations between our two countries just hit the eye."

UNI adds: Negotiations are under way for starting a joint Indo-Mauritian shipping company under a techno-economic co-operation programme between the two countries.

The project has already been agreed in principle leaving only the technical details to be worked out. Besides, another joint project in the hotel industry is now in the final stage of negotiations.

India has a sizeable economic assistance and co-operation programme with Mauritius, including irrigation pumps and ready-made garments manufacture. Indian emigrants constitute 69 per cent of the island nation's population.

Since 1975, India has extended Rs. 30 crore credit to this island nation whose economy is mainly based on sugarcane.

The Indo-Mauritius commission has identified 26 fields for co-operation between the two countries. It covers a wide range of fields. Economic co-operation between the two countries is expected to widen further when the joint commission meets sometime next year for a third session.

India is now exporting to Mauritius a number of items including consumer goods, consumer goods and fruits.

In the political field, Mauritius strategically located in the Indian Ocean, shares with India the same perspectives and views on a number of international issues, including non-alignment and making the Indian Ocean zone of peace.

#### Divali Greetings

President Zail Singh reminded the people of Mauritius that their forefathers who settled in the island 150 years ago had "illuminated the place as first of Indian culture and tradition."

In a special message to the Mauritians on the occasion of Diwali, the President said everyone shared the illumination of the Indian culture through them.

The President conveyed Diwali greetings to the people of Mauritius on behalf of the people and Government of India and on his own behalf. "May your life be full of joy and happiness," he said.

General Desai, Guest

General Desai, Guest

[Text] (Dated 1981), October 16 (PFI)--INDIA and Mauritius, with a complete identity of views on all global and regional issues, have reiterated their solidarity with and strong support for the struggle of the oppressed peoples of India Africa.

The two countries firmly believe that only the eradication of apartheid and the establishment of majority rule on the basis of free and fair exercise of universal adult suffrage by all the people in a unified and non-fragmented South Africa can lead to a just and lasting solution to the "evil" situation prevailing there.

Similarly, concerned over the increasing militarisation of the Indian Ocean, threatening to destabilise the Region, both India and Mauritius have reaffirmed their determination to continue the endeavours in the direction of maintaining the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

#### Indian Views

The expression of solidarity is more and more concerned to promote bilateral relations through increased cooperation in the economic, cultural, scientific and technical spheres during the current visit the President's government has decided to send a high level delegation headed by the Minister, External Affairs, to Mauritius. The delegation will be headed by the Minister, External Affairs, who will be accompanied by the Minister, Defence, and the Minister, Information.

The delegation will be headed by the Minister, External Affairs, who will be accompanied by the Minister, Defence, and the Minister, Information.

Both India and Mauritius are committed to the peaceful resolution of disputes through the establishment of a just and equitable international order, and the promotion of international relations without discrimination and importance of peaceful co-existence.

The delegation will be headed by the Minister, External Affairs, who will be accompanied by the Minister, Defence, and the Minister, Information. The delegation will be headed by the Minister, External Affairs, who will be accompanied by the Minister, Defence, and the Minister, Information.

## Indian Aid

The Indian assistance in different projects is within the framework of a package of help to the tune of Rs. 300 million which India decided in 1975. A cheque of Rs. five million was handed over to the Mauritian health minister, Mr. Purryag, for health services early this month by the Indian high commissioner, Mr. Pre Singh.

As many as 98,000 bottles of water from the hold Ganga river in India are on way to Mauritius for distribution to each of the families of Indian origin here.

This token of religious and cultural affinity for the people of Mauritius is being sent by the Vishva Hindu Parishad, according to the Vishva Hindu Parishad leaders accompanying the 150-member delegation from India led by Mrs. Ram Dulari Sinha, for participation in the 150th anniversary celebration of Indian immigration to Mauritius.

A festival of Indian films opened in Mauritius last week with the screening of the Hindi film "Nam-keen".

The festival, organised to coincide with Mr. Zail's visit, was inaugurated on October 16 by the deputy prime minister, Mr. Gaeton Duval.

Among the films being screened here are the award-winning Marathi film "Shripit," the Tamil film "Nen-jathai Killathe" and T. S. Narasimhan's documentary "The saga of Indian immigrants to Mauritius" which has been produced by the National Films Development Corporation (NFDC).

CSO: 4600/1085

NVOI CARRIES TUDEH PARTY MESSAGE TO COMMUNIST PARTIES

TA162050 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 16 Nov 84

[Text] Dear compatriots: While exposing the criminal plot of Iran's Islamic regime against members and leaders of the Iranian Tudeh Party, the Central Committee of the Tudeh party of Iran, in messages to world communist and labor parties, the Socialist International, and the UN secretary general, drew the attention of progressive mankind and international public opinion the launching of an extensive propaganda campaign in order to save the lives of imprisoned Tudeh members.

Carrying out its national and patriotic duty, the National Voice of Iran beginning today will bring to the attention of the dear compatriots the text of each of these messages which have been published in NAMEH-YE MARDOM, the central organ of the Iranian Tudeh Party. Now, we draw your attention to the message of the Iranian Tudeh Party Central Committee to world communist and labor parties.

To world communist and labor parties:

Dear comrades, Iran's reactionary dictatorial regime is determined to put on trial a number of leadership members and central cadres of the party as of 12 November. These individuals have been in prison for about 2 years, and during this period they were subjected to the most brutal pressures as well as mental and physical tortures. Their contact with the outside world from the prison was totally cut. Many of them had no contact even with the closest members of their families.

The general offensive against the Iranian Tudeh Party, and the arrest of a large number of its leaders and members, which was launched on 6 February 1983, was a turn to the right in the policy of leaders of the Islamic Republic of Iran toward reaction and imperialism. The superficial and reactionary group of clergy that had started moving away from the democratic, popular, and national stances of the revolution of February 1979 a long time ago, by launching a large-scale attack on the Iranian Tudeh Party on 6 February 1983, took a long and destiny-making stride toward this goal.

The savage onslaught against the Iranian Tudeh Party was a gift to domestic reaction, capitalists, landlords, and to international imperialism whose

interests were dealt heavy blows following the revolution. After this same assault, the regime's policy in all aspects of internal and external life was reassessed with the aim of making it reactionary, and this move to the right is continuing even now.

In the winter of 1983, 10 patriotic Iranian Army officers and other members of the Iranian Tudeh Party were executed following the verdict of an Islamic Islamic Revolution military tribunal, headed by a superstitious and reactionary clergyman who at the same time played the role of both judge and public prosecutor. Following this great treachery, new leaders of the Islamic Republic will allegedly put on trial members of the leadership of the central committee of the party. The trial now taking place in Tehran is no more than an anticommunist puppet show, the aim of which is to eliminate a new group of members of the Iranian Tudeh Party. In this trial, all legal law and principles, both domestic and international, have been violated. The Islamic Republic's regime has violated even the articles of the constitution and other laws which it initiated itself. In this court, the accused are denied of the right of retaining a defense attorney. The trial is closed, although they have tried to present it as being open. The presiding judge is not neutral, but rather the main plaintiff. The accused, who are facing trial, are not in normal health due to prolonged physical and mental tortures.

Dear comrades, the threat of harm to innocent people and the death of a number of the best children of our homeland. The results of these two brutal crimes are the hands of the executioners of the Islamic Republic requires your action in all progressive, peace-loving, and democratic forces of the entire world.

As one of the organs of the international communist and labor movement, and within the framework of proletarian internationalism, the Iranian Tudeh Party has always carried out its duties in this. It now demands that all members of this large family rush to the aid of the members of the Tudeh Party and other members of the party. Time is running out. Secretaries of the Islamic Republic have shown that they are unable to commit any crime. They can not be stopped and their new plot foisted by a joint struggle on an international scale. We are awaiting your urgent action. With communist greetings.

[Signed] Central Committee of the Iranian Tudeh Party, 10 September 1983

CSO: 4640/136

NVOI BROADCASTS IRANIAN WORKERS' MESSAGE ON TUDEH TRIALS

TA201530 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 20 Nov 84

["Text" of Message by Solidarity Council of Iranian Workers to International Federation of Syndicates; date not given]

[Text] To the international federation of syndicates:

Dear friends, authorities of the Islamic Republic have announced that the trial of members of the leadership and cadres of the Iranian Tudeh Party will begin on 12 November. These individuals have been languishing for 2 years in the Islamic regime's prisons, and during this time they have been subjected to the most severe medieval pressures and tortures. The jailers have totally cut off the prisoners' contact with the outside world, and have deprived them of the most elementary means of survival and medical care, so much so that at present many of the Tudeh prisoners, including workers and syndicate officials, are on the verge of death.

The Islamic Republic regime, which came to power in the aftermath of the February 1979 revolution, has in recent years broken all its promises, and has consistently and rapidly taken steps toward moving further away from the main goals of the revolution.

In the sphere of democratic freedoms, the record of this regime is (?black). It has banned all progressive and democratic parties and assemblies, thrown their leaders and members in prison, and executed many of them. Labor syndicates throughout the country have become illegal. Even Islamic associations, which unjustly took the place of labor syndicates, have been banned. Authorities of the Islamic Republic have gone so far as not to tolerate even organs and organizations that they themselves established.

Unemployment, inflation, shortage of foodstuffs, [word indistinct], insecurity, violation of laws and regulations--even those initiated by leaders of the Islamic Republic--have aroused the intense anger of toilers. Major capitalists and large landowners are in favor now. They have been transformed into the main base of support for leaders of the Islamic Republic. In contrast, the toiling classes and strata, and foremost of all workers who played the primary role in overthrowing the oppressive royal regime, are currently being subjected to pressure and exploitation as in the past, and perhaps even more so.

Dear friends, currently members of the leadership of the Iranian Tudeh Party are being tried because they could not agree to this situation. They believed that the February 1979 revolution should be expanded and converted from the stage of a political transformation into a social transformation. This was precisely what the leaders of the Islamic Republic did not want. For this reason they banned our party, threw thousands of its members into prison, and now intend to eliminate them following an illegal and sham trial.

The lives of a number of our country's progressive, peace-loving and patriotic sons are in serious danger. We request your organization, which represents tens of millions of the world's workers, and of which Iran's labor syndicates have been faithful members for many years, to launch a large-scale international campaign against [word indistinct] of the Islamic Republic regime to save the lives of members of the leadership of the Iranian Tudeh Party. We have no doubt that your persistence toward this end will effectively help to save the lives of these (?prisoners).

Despite their harshness and wickedness, leaders of the Islamic Republic cannot ignore the protests of the international labor movement. We anticipate your speedy action.

[Signed] With warm greetings, Solidarity Council of Iranian Workers.

CSO: 4640/141

NVOI REPORTS TUDEH PARTY MESSAGE TO AAPSO

TA212017 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 21 Nov 84

["Message" by the Central Committee of the Iranian Tudeh Party, dated 10 November 1984, addressed to the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization in Cairo--read by announcer]

[Text] The Government of the Republic of Iran has decided to bring to trial members of the leadership of the Iranian Tudeh Party who have been languishing in prison for about 2 years. During all this period, these individuals were subjected to the most intense and brutal medieval tortures; they have lost their health and are on the verge of death. Officials of the Islamic Republic are bent on taking the last step toward their elimination.

We now appeal to you and request that you utilize all your potential and the contacts that you have with the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran in various fields, to save the lives of members of the party's leadership whose only crime is patriotism. This is a humanitarian measure that is an important task of all the world's peoples as well as of all governments and officials that believe in the principles of freedom and human rights, and who have signed the various international conventions in this connection, and which through membership in the United Nations and its affiliated organs have undertaken to defend these principles.

In these moments when the peril of certain death is threatening the lives of our friends, we seek your help and seriously hope that the request for assistance from you will not remain without response.

[Signed] Central Committee of the Iranian Tudeh Party

CSO: 4640/140

NVOI CARRIES IRANIAN STUDENTS' MESSAGE ON TUDEH TRIALS

TA221951 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 22 Nov 84

["Test" of Message by Democratic Youth and Students Organization of Iran to International Students' Association--date not given]

[Text] International students' association:

Dear friends, as you are aware the trial of a number of members of the leadership and central cadres of the Iranian Tudeh Party--who have been languishing for about 2 years in the prisons of Iran's medieval despotic regime--will begin on 12 November. The most indisputable legal principles and mores, as well as the human rights charter, have been violated in this so-called trial. The accused have been subjected for 2 years to the most savage physical and mental tortures. During all this period their contact with the outside world was completely cut.

The use of brutal tortures on the one hand, and lack of medical supervision on the other, has brought the accused to the brink of death. Yet the regime's executioners are not content with this; they aim to eliminate the accused. The sham trial which they plan to hold has been prepared for this purpose. One must act to save the lives of these noble and patriotic men and women. They have struggled during their entire lives for the lofty ideals of peace, democracy and social progress. It is the duty of all the world's peaceloving, freedom-seeking and progressive forces to struggle to save the lives of their Iranian co-strugglers.

Dear friends, we ask you to mobilize all your forces to save the lives of leaders of the Iranian Tudeh Party, and to echo throughout the world the cry of the oppressed and toiling Iranian nation which is writhing in agony under the pressure of medieval tyranny. In recent years, the regime's executioners have executed tens of thousands of our country's noble offspring--young and old, men and women, students and workers, peasants and tradesmen, military and civilian. They have sent hundreds of thousands of people to prisons and torture chambers. Now, a new plot is about to be implemented. Only through an extensive international campaign can this plot be foiled. We call on you to help us in this struggle.

[Signed] With warm greetings, Democratic Youth and Students Organization of Iran.

CSO: 4640/13

## RED CROSS OFFICIALS CHARGED WITH IRRESPONSIBLE CONDUCT

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 1 Nov 84 pp 1, 2

## [Text]

TEHRAN, (IRNA) — Imam Khomeini's representative to the Supreme Defense Council Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani here Tuesday said that the council reviewed recent incidents at the Iraqi PoW camp in Gorgan, North Iran, and instigations of the representatives of the International Red Cross at its session held Tuesday afternoon.

He added that for some time now the Islamic Republic had allowed the Red Cross representatives to privately meet Iraqi PoWs in their camps and talk to them. But, Rafsanjani said, recently the Iraqi PoWs themselves had informed officials of the camps that the Red Cross representatives would mistakenly provide the repentant PoWs, who were no longer interested in the Baathist regime of Iraq, with confidential information.

Therefore, it was proven to the supervising commission for PoWs affairs that the Red Cross was committing an act of espionage in this respect, Rafsanjani said.

Moreover, he noted, the Red Cross representatives would also make a list of the names of the PoWs who had become interested in the Islamic Republic and would send the list to Iraq, a measure contrary to the Red Cross mission.

The Islamic Republic's Foreign Ministry had repeatedly notified the Red Cross and it was expected not to repeat

such actions.

Referring to the incidents at Gorgan Iraqi PoWs camp, Rafsanjani said that noticing that one of the Baathist PoWs had given a list to a Red Cross representative, a repentant Iraqi PoW tried to take back the list which later led to a clash.

In their later confession, the Iraqi Baathist PoWs said that the Red Cross representative provoked them to get involved in the clash, he noted adding that there were documents proving the Red Cross had instigated the insurgency at the camp and would be put at the disposal of the world mass media.

Rafsanjani said that when the riot erupted in the camp and the Red Cross representative felt danger, he asked camp guards why they did not shoot to save his life.

In the clash three repentant Iraqi PoWs were massacred by the Baathist PoWs but finally the riot was suppressed, Imams representative to the SDC said.

He stressed that the case should seriously be followed and the Red Cross should be warned not to commission representatives who have already been purchased by the Iraqi regime.

He noted that the Islamic Republic would negotiate the case with the Red Cross in this respect and would insist the organization to observe its

neutral policy.

Elsewhere in his statements, Rafsanjani referred to the deplorable attitude of the Iraqi regime vis-a-vis the Iranian PoWs there but, however, praised high morale of the Iranian PoWs which was dominant at Iraqi camps.

He said that the Islamic Republic believed that Iraqi PoWs, except for a handful of Baathists, would be at the service of Islam in future for which they would be trained.

Asked on vicious propaganda attempts of Western mass media about recent victorious operations in Meimak, Rafsanjani said that they would make their own analysis

and interpretations.

But, he stressed, everybody knew the sensitiveness of the Meimak area which was 120 kms from Baghdad and also said the recent operations proved futility of Iraqi allegations that they had withdrawn from Iranian territory.

Rafsanjani noted that the Islamic combatants sustained very few casualties while a great number of Iraqi forces were killed in the operation.

Imam's representative to the SDC further emphasized that positions of the Iranian Forces were highly strengthened following the liberation of Haialeh and Meimak Heights.

In conclusion Rafsanjani referred to the forthcoming session of journalists in Jerusalem and said that it was a cultural recognition for the usurper Zionist regime.

He stressed that such a measure would be treason committed by the journalists which would not be forgiven by history.

OPPOSITION PAPER ON PUBLICATION OF HASHEMI-RAFSANJANI'S BOOK

GF140630 London KEYHAN in Persian 1 Nov 84 p 2

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] In Tehran this week the first book by Ayatollah [as published] 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the speaker for the Islamic Majlis has been published. This book has the surprising title of "Economic Policy." The Islamic Republican Party publication, describing this book, wrote: "Hojjat ol-Eslam Val Moslemin Hashemi-Rafsanjani has filled a great gap and has proved that Islam holds the best economic policy. It is due to this valuable book that the economic books of the idle economists from East and West which were written by erratic brains such as Adam Smith and Karl Marx has been neutralized and now new horizons are opening for the oppressed people of the world."

During the past 5 years Ayatollah [as published] Hashemi-Rafsanjani has taken an active part in politics and also in trade by investing in more than 100 companies. He has had an effective role, but this is the first time that the Majlis speaker is appearing on the economic scene.

The introduction to the book reads: "Carrying out the ways of Islam which are presented here will not only place the Islamic Republic of Iran on the right track for economic growth but will also clear the way for the world to be free from economic crises resulting from oppression."

CSO: 4640/129

# IRANIAN EMIGRE PAPER REVIEWS UNITY EFFORTS

GF150530 London KEYHAN in Persian 8 Nov 84 p 1

[Editorial entitled : "A New Move"--London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Excerpts] The new efforts underway to unite the constitutionalists is worthy of approval like any other healthy move to unite those opposing Velayat-e Faqih. The supporters of the democratic movement in Iran have not forgotten that the first fundamental steps in this way were taken by the founders of the constitutional movement. The idea of separation of church and state, national sovereignty, an independent judiciary, and respect for individual and human rights are among the most important goals that were pursued during the constitutional revolution.

However, the most important issue raised in the constitutional revolution was that no individual, group or organization has any right to change the mode of government without reason and without being responsible to the public. We all know that during the eventful history of our homeland following the constitutional revolution some of the fundamental principles were repeatedly transgressed. However, even those guilty of such transgressions were not prepared to deny the principle of national sovereignty openly before the establishment of Velayat-e Faqih.

In other words, it is Velayat-e Faqih which has openly rejected the entire goals of the constitutional revolution both in form and content. Velayat-e Faqih denies national sovereignty. That is to say, it believes that the nation does not have the right to determine its own destiny since government is the right of the Faqih who, on the basis of a heathenist and dualist-ridden logic, portrays himself as the Lord's representative in this world. Thus, the first true step in liberating Iran from its present blight is the reestablishment of the principles and values of the constitution and especially the principle of national sovereignty. The majority of patriots love freedom and human rights and can be united based on these principles:

1. Sovereignty belongs only to the nation.
2. Each Iranian, as a human, has fundamental rights.
3. The nation has the right to make laws in every aspect.

The defense of these principles and values is not of course the domain or right of any individual or group. All Iranian patriots and freedomlovers can and do struggle for this in any manner they see fit. We are not advocating the amalgamation of movements that oppose Velayat-e Faqih. This is neither possible nor desirable. What is both possible and desirable is to coordinate their activities and struggle.

The formation of a constitutional council and its administrative arm--proposed by the young Shah--especially if a notable number of its members are in Iran, can be an effective step in this direction.

Such an organization can achieve its mantle and be positively effective in the political life of the country at the moment if it truly is the representative of the struggle of the constitutionalists both at home and abroad. Offering an assembled organization instead of a noble and rooted leadership is nothing but an exercise in public relations. Almost 6 years has passed since the establishment of Velayat-e Faqih. We have witnessed the rise and decline of many leadership organizations. The need for their rise stems from the need of the majority of the Iranians to struggle against reaction and dictatorship that rules the country. The reason for their decline should be found in the fact that these leadership organizations have usually had a private or group aspect and have not been the bearers and champions of the great national goals.

The proposed constitutional council can and also must be the embodiment of such goals. This is because the most diverse political ideas can be accepted when related to national unity in the framework of the values of the constitutional revolution. In such a union only those who support Velayat-e Faqih and basically deny the presence of the Iranian nation and talk about the ummah, masses, or classes have no place. The majority of the Iranian people, aside from their differences of opinion and political ideology--differences over form and not content--can consider the achievements of the constitutional movement which were paid for with the blood of our sacrificing and struggling forefathers--their own inheritance--and use it as an alliance to strengthen the national and tribal unity of all Iranians.

Velayat-e Faqih does not disappear on its own. National sovereignty and individual freedom will not return to Iran on its own. The favorable conditions that are present at home and abroad right now will not last forever.

The formation of an alternative leadership which can be accepted by the majority of the Iranian people is the prerequisite for victory and, irrespective of all the difficulties, this can become a reality far sooner than expected by friend or foe. After almost 6 years of the bitter experience, the majority of our people have now come to recognize friends from foe and good from bad. The sparkle of the inherent values of the constitution on the blackest nights of the government of black reaction is the bearer of the good tidings of tomorrow's free future for our nation.

CSD: 4640/130

## KUWAITI CROWN PRINCE INSPECTS KUWAITI-IRAQI BORDER

19161842 Tehran IRNA in English 1546 GMT 18 Nov 84

[Tehran] Kuwait, 18 Nov. IRNA--Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah al-Salim al-Sabah, the Kuwaiti crown prince and prime minister, inspected the Bubiyan and Warbah Islands as well as the military and border centres in north of the country Saturday. Press reports published here said that the Kuwaiti crown prince also visited the Om-Al-Qasr region and the military installations and centres along the border of the country with Iraq.

The Kuwaiti press did not mention whether Iraqi officials accompanied the Kuwaiti crown prince in his visit to Kuwait-Iraq border regions.

According to Kuwaiti papers published today, the crown prince's tour of the northern regions of the country was due to take place before his recent trip to Baghdad.

Also reports indicate that the Kuwaiti interior minister, Shaykh Nawwaf al-Azaid al-Jahir al-Sabah, is supposed to meet with his Iraqi counterpart somewhere along the joint border of the two countries. The two sides are to review border disputes between the two countries.

Following the recent visit of Kuwaiti crown prince to Iraq, unconfirmed reports surfaced that Kuwait had given permission to Iraq to use three Kuwaiti islands at northern tip of the Persian Gulf.

Parliament Speaker 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani warned Kuwait on Friday that once the Islamic Republic takes these islands over, Kuwait would have no claim on them.

The said islands are located in north of the Persian Gulf and because of their strategic location, Iraq will attempt to launch assaults from there against the Islamic Republic. The islands are Bubiyan, Warbah, Faylakah.

END 1600/91

TABRIZ RADIO WARNS KUWAIT OVER ISLANDS AGREEMENT

GF2015 90 Tabriz International Service in Azeri 1830 GMT 19 Nov 84

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, we warn Kuwait and the other GCC countries that if Iran captures the island of Bubiyan from Iraq, Kuwait will not have an Islamic right to claim ownership over it. These words have been spoken by Majlis Speaker Hashemi-Rafsanjani. Through them he has pointed out that the regimes of Kuwait and Iraq have agreed on the deployment of the Ba'thist army units on Bubiyan and the other islands.

Considering the momentum it requires (?in its effort to achieve its objective), the Iraqi Ba'thist regime hopes to occupy three Kuwait islands militarily through bringing pressure to bear on the Kuwaiti Government. Thus, it hopes to succeed in spreading the fire of the war in the Persian Gulf.

The information at hand proves that on the basis of a treacherous agreement, the Kuwaiti Government has agreed to hand over the islands of Bubiyan, Faylakah, and Warbah to the Ba'thist army of Iraq for military purposes. In return, the criminals in Iraq have promised not to press for new territories until the war ends. One meaning of this treacherous agreement is that the Kuwaiti Government is helping the Ba'thist army of Iraq to spread the fire of the war in the Persian Gulf. [sentence indistinct] However, it would have been better for Kuwait had it put forward a constructive opinion [words indistinct]--one that would clearly outline the fact that in the event the islands referred to are handed over to aggressive Iraq under the conditions of war, the Islamic Republic of Iran will not hesitate in silencing the enemy guns on them. [sentence indistinct]

Apart from all this, a more important fact is that the war has its own laws. In the event the Ba'thist army settles on these islands, the Islamic Republic of Iran will have the right to consider them as enemy territory and use every possible means to capture them. As stated by Hashemi-Rafsanjani, under such conditions Kuwait should not have any claim over the three islands either before or after the war ends. In the event the islands are captured during the war by Islamic armed forces, they will be regarded as spoils of war.

Meanwhile another possibility is the ousting of the Baghdad regime prior to the commencement of an operation in that regard. In the event of such an eventuality, will the Kuwaiti Government (?be able to ask for the return of the islands from the new Iraqi Government?) [sentence indistinct]

Nevertheless, the Kuwaiti Government must inform the Islamic Republic of Iran as to whether (?this matter) is true or not. The Kuwaiti Government must realize that if the islands in question, which are of strategic importance, are occupied by Iraq, they will be regarded as being within the sphere of war operations.

Under the present conditions, the Iraqi Army has hidden itself behind the frontiers of Kuwait with the approval of that country. However, in doing so it has thrust part of Kuwaiti territory into great danger.

This danger is by no means in the interests of the Kuwaiti Government. Obviously, the Kuwaiti regime stands to suffer great devastation.

CSO: 1831/404

CLANDESTINE RADIO REPORTS ON RUMORS OF ATTACK ON KUWAITI ISLANDS

GF171751 (Clandestine) Radio Nejat-e Iran in Persian 1630 GMT 17 Nov 84

[Text] It is rumored in the political and news agency circles in the Persian Gulf that the Iranian forces will attack two Kuwaiti islands. One of the Nejat-e Iran correspondents in the region has reported that since last Wednesday Iranian war and reconnaissance aircraft have flown three times over the Bubiyan and another island of Kuwait for reconnaissance purposes. The same report adds that along with these flights Iranian naval forces have commenced military maneuvers in Kuwaiti coastal waters.

It is also said that there was a serious clash between the Kuwaiti coastal guards and Iranian armies last Friday afternoon. The new adventure of Khomeyni in the Persian Gulf was confirmed by Rafsanjani in his sermon last Friday. We may add in this connection that Kuwaiti authorities continue to expell suspicious Iranian nationals and every day Iranian unemployed and vagabonds are sent in groups of 10 to 15 to the southern ports of Iran.

Nejat-e Iran correspondent adds that in view of the poor economic situation in Iran and the possibility of expulsion of a major portion of Iranians from the Persian Gulf emirates, it will add to the ranks of the unemployed in Iran. Observers believe that there will soon be more than nine million unemployed in Iran.

CSO: 4640/137

## SAIRI SPOKESMAN DISCUSSES ANTI-SADDAM STRUGGLE

LD210035 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 20 Nov 84

[Text] The head of the supervisory council in charge of convening the committed Muslim Iraqi struggling forces in Iran and in other countries expounded the program of this conference in an interview given to our correspondent today. Hojjat ol-Eslam Hakim, spokesman of the Supreme Assembly of the Islamic Revolution of Iraq [SAIRI], referred to the conference's agenda, and said: At an invitation from SAIRO, Iraqi Muslim struggling forces from all over the world are taking part in the congress due to begin in Tehran on Saturday, 24 November to study the problems of Iraq's Islamic revolution. He added: During this meeting problems related to the Islamic Revolution and Iraq's future government will be the subjects of discussion and a debate.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Hakim referred to the motivation's for holding this meeting which are indications speaking of the definite downfall of the Saddam regime. The SAIRI spokesman also said: A great many participants in this conference are specialist Iraqi forces which live abroad thanks to the Ba'thist regime's oppression and tyranny. As to the present situation in Iraq, he said: Iraqi Muslims at present are engaged in waging struggle against that regime in order to establish Islamic tenets; the changes, dismissals, and executions of military personnel and executive officials speak of the disorderly situation in Iraq. He added because it is weak and in step with world arrogance, the Iraqi Government has placed part of its soil at the disposal of other countries in the region. We condemn these political wheelings and dealings.

In connection with the effect of the military operations carried out by Iraqi Muslim revolutionaries on Iraqi soil, the SAIRI spokesman said: Military activities carried out by Iraqi Muslim fighters against the Ba'thist, Zionist regime inside the territory of that country are being actively conducted; the Muslim soldiers have even carried out extensive operations against Iraq's Ba'thist regime and have provided martyrs in this endeavour.

With regard to the strengthening of relations between the Saddam regime and the United States, he said: Since the beginning of the work of the Ba'thist party in Iraq, that country's Muslim people have been aware of the direct and secret relations of that infidel regime with international Zionists, the United States and Israel. The victory of the Islamic revolution in Iran under the leadership of Imam Khomeyni has exposed the hand of the agents of world

arrogance in the region, including the collusion between the Iraqi regime and world arrogance.

He said: The blows dealt by that regime to the Palestine revolution and the assassination [of] top figures, the rapprochement with Egypt and support for Camp David, the imposed war against Iran's Islamic Revolutions--all these have taken place with the coordination of Israel and the United States in the region. By making public its relations with world arrogance and the United States, it enters the final stages for the completion of these plots and for subservience.

In connection with conditions for a lasting peace in the region, the SAURI spokesman said: The overthrow of the Saddam regime and the termination of the influence of world arrogance in the region will bring about lasting peace; the end of the Iraqi Ba'thist regime is pivotal to this peace.

In conclusion, with regard to the bloody demonstrations by Iraq's Muslim people in Karbala against Saddam, he said: So far in their struggle against the tyrannical Ba'thist regime, the Iraqi Muslim people have given more than 20,000 martyrs and a great many of the strugglers also languish in the regime's prisons. Despite these pressures the revolutionary movement of the Muslim people is growing and expanding; and the recent demonstrations by the Karbala citizens on 'Ashura Day against the Ba'thist regime and the anti-government slogans chanted by the Muslim people in the Holy Shrine of Imam Husayn--may peace be upon him!--against Iraq's bloodthirsty regime are signs that the struggle waged by Iraq's Muslims against the Saddam regime is continuing.

CSO: 4640/138

IRAQ ALLEGEDLY TORTURES IRANIAN POW TO DEATH

LD230045 Tehran International Service in English 1930 GMT 22 Nov 84

[Text] According to the report of the Central News Bureau of the Voice and Vision of the Islamic Republic of Iran, one of the Iranian combatant captives with communications [as heard] with his family until July the seventh of this year has been martyred as a result of the tortures of the Ba'athist regime of Iraq.

The Iranian martyred captive, (Mohammad Farrokhi-Rad), was from the city of Dezful in the south. He was taken as captive somewhere on the western part of Khorramshahr by the forces of the Saddam regime. For the past 4 months he has not had any communication with his family. Received reports from Iraq indicate that he, as a result of the fierce and continuous tortures of the Saddam regime elements, has been martyred. This is at a time when the International Red Cross has adopted silence in the face of the request of the family of the martyred (Mohammad Farrokhi-Rad) who wanted to learn about the well-being of their captive child or the return of the body of this martyr.

It is noted that following the pursuance on the part of the Red Crescent Society of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the family of this martyr [as heard], International Red Cross has handed in the photo of the martyred (Farrokhi-Rad) in which only the face of the body can be recognized, but the rest of it has been covered with a sheet. Based on this report, the Saddam regime has reported that the martyrdom of (Mohammad Farrokhi-Rad) to be caused by a heart stroke [as heard] and has further claimed that the body of this martyred combatant has been buried in Iran. This claim of the Iraqi regime has taken place at a time when, according to international laws and regulations, in case of the death of any captive soldier the country where this soldier has died should turn the body over to the respective country of the soldier.

CSO: 4600/96

## BRIEFS

RETURN OF ENDOWMENT LAND--This morning in a ceremony which was held in Imam Khomeyni Mosque in the bazaar on the occasion of the endowments week, Imam-e Jamarani, the representative of Imam Khomeyni in the Endowments Organization, referring to the importance which is given to the issue of endowments by his holiness the imam, said: With the approval of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, all the endowed land that had been given to individuals as the result of the land reform of the destroyed shah, will, in the future, be returned to the Endowments Organization. According to the approved law on the return of the endowment lands, such lands will not be taken back from the farmers. Such lands will be regarded as lease lands with, of course, a low rent so that the farmers will be able to pay it. [Under the land reform enacted by the sha's regime, in addition to all crown lands and large private holdings, the endowment lands belonging to the mullahs or the mosques, which were estimated to constitute over 20 percent of all farmland in Iran, were also distributed among the farmers and their value was paid to the original owners. According to the new law, such lands will again revert to the Endowments Organization and the farmers who have purchased them will have to pay rent. [Text] [Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 2110 GMT 21 Nov 84 LD]

CSO: 4640/142

COMMENTARY ON PRESIDENT REAGAN'S VICTORY

GF211310 Rawalpindi THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 9 Nov 84 p 6

[Editorial: "A Great Victory"]

[Text] As predicted, President Reagan has been re-elected for a second four-year term by an overwhelming majority. His victory was never in doubt. Opinion polls in the weeks preceding the election had constantly shown him leading his Democratic challenger Walter Mondale by a comfortable margin. Public opinion seemed to have been temporarily affected by the Reagan-Mondale TV debate in which the U.S. President did not do as well as was expected. But, in the final analysis, the U.S. President's personal charisma carried the day, and the minor plus points that the Democrats had been accumulating throughout the election campaign did not help them much. President Reagan won 59 percent of the popular votes, while Mr Mondale won 41 percent.

But, in terms of electoral college votes the lead was overwhelming. President Reagan claimed 525 out of a total of 538 votes, whereas only 270 are needed to win. The voting pattern was pre-determined. Most young people, particularly male voters, a majority of the blue-collar workers, older people and Catholics voted for President Reagan. The poor, blacks, Jews, feminists and the unemployed favoured Mr Mondale.

Mr Ronald Reagan has been one of the most popular Presidents in U.S. history. It was his personal appeal to the common run of American voters that was a decisive factor in his landslide victory. The "great communicator" and the "father-figure", epithets that U.S. media endearingly employ to describe him, won as much as on his personal qualities as a leader on issues. His affability, his commanding TV presence, and his ability to come across--all this greatly helped him. President Reagan's record in office also had an irresistible appeal to conservative Americans, particularly the middle classes. The Reagan administration controlled inflation, cut taxes, and infused a new dynamism in the American economy. Above all, it projected the image of a military strong, assertive America which would not be pushed around and work for peace from a position of strength.

The massive endorsement of Mr Reagan's presidency is a vote for continuing the U.S. domestic and foreign policies of the last four years. After his

re-election Mr Reagan has announced that he would treat an arms control agreement with Moscow as a top priority. His economic team might also consider steps to cut the astronomical budget deficits.

President Ziaul Haq, in his message of felicitations to President Reagan, has mentioned the strong ties of friendship existing between Pakistan and the United States and expressed the hope that under his second term bilateral relations would be developed further to the mutual benefit of the two peoples. Since President Reagan took over as the executive head of the U.S. Administration, Pak-America relations have entered a new phase of close understanding and fruitful cooperation.

Under President Reagan, Pakistan has received firm assurances of U.S. support in its struggle to preserve its political independence and territorial integrity. The Reagan administration has also extended consistent support to Pakistan's principled stand on the Afghanistan crisis. A concrete outcome of the new friendly equation between Pakistan and the United States is the agreement between the two sides on a 3.2 billion dollars U.S. economic assistance and military sales package.

It is hoped that during President Reagan's next four years as the U.S. chief executive relations between the two countries will grow stronger serving the best interests of regional and international peace.

CSO: 4600/97

COMMENTARY ON REAGAN'S SECOND TERM; REELECTION WELCOMED

GF221632 Karachi MASHRIQ in Urdu 13 Nov 84 p 3

[Commentary by Dr Abdossalam Khorshid: "President Reagan's Victory and World Peace"]

[Text] The world has benefitted by Reagan's magnificent victory in the presidential elections because now, after several months' suspense, the United States will again play an effective role in world politics. It is customary that when a new administration is installed there is a tendency not to make any major moves. But now there is no such hitch. The world knows Reagan's policies and they will not have to wait till he is formally installed again as President. Moreover, President Reagan, either under the pressure of circumstances or to improve his image, has given up the policy of force and has expressed his determination to resolve problems through talks with the Soviet Union. Therefore, there is no need to think that the policy of strength and cold war will continue.

A new Reagan personality has emerged from the election campaign--a personality which loves peace and which wants to keep balanced relations with the Soviet Union. Another benefit is that international tension or the strained relations between the superpowers over world problems could also come to an end by adopting a policy of give and take between the parties concerned. Thus, we can be so optimistic as to hope that some understanding will emerge on the problems of Israel and Afghanistan. But it is necessary that they first come to an understanding on the disarmament question. The real problem is that no superpower should have military superiority over the other. Both would thus be forced to maintain peace in the world. Fortunately, there is no presidential election campaign in the Soviet Union and, therefore, at present there is political stability in both the United States and the Soviet Union. Both can take a step forward with full confidence.

The 73-year-old Reagan has revealed that during the past 4 years of his tenure he has strengthened his country to such an extent that he can now talk from a position of strength. He said that he has decided to hold serious talks with the Soviet Union. He has declared that the United States is prepared to hold talks on the question of disarmament so that some progress could be made on this issue. He added that he was sure the Soviet Union would

cooperate in this mission. One plan under consideration is that both countries would encourage the use of unofficial contacts through envoys working unofficially and through informal sources rather than diplomatic channels. Such envoys could advise their countries on which points they could begin useful discussions. President Reagan has also said that he is prepared to hold direct talks with Soviet Chairman Chernenko. Thus, President Reagan's victory has cleared the international atmosphere and has removed the suspense. Now an era has started which if it does not maintain total peace, will at least relax the tension. It now seems that talks which had been suspended on the deployment of medium and long-range missiles in Europe and on a cut in nuclear and conventional arms could be reopened.

The general public in Pakistan wanted Reagan to win. This was due to an imaginary impression that the United States will maintain friendlier relations with Pakistan than with India. Moreover, Pakistan and the United States have now come to understand each other better. The present relations will continue as before and sale of arms to Pakistan will continue. It is on this account that there is joy in Pakistan over Reagan's victory. However, one should realize that the United States is interested in Pakistan only because its own interests are linked with Pakistan and this region. Pakistan is located in the backyard of the Persian Gulf and is therefore linked with it, and it is the Persian Gulf where the United States wishes to maintain its leadership. Whether it is Reagan or Mondale, American interests will remain the same and there will be no change in American policy. As regards American relations with Pakistan being better than they are with India, the truth is that this situation will continue as long as India remains attached to the Soviet Union. Once India adopts an independent policy, the United States will prefer India to Pakistan because India is a big country. The United States' good relations with Pakistan are for a transitory period and there is no harm in it because international friendships emerge from joint interests, but when joint interests disappear, the friendship also disappears.

Pakistan wants that the Afghanistan question to be resolved, and the 3 million Afghan refugees which are here to return to their homes safely and honorably and Soviet forces to withdraw from Afghanistan.

CSO: 4656/32

PARTICIPATION IN ELECTIONS URGED

GF180640 Lahore NAWA-E WAQT in Urdu 13 Nov 84 p 3

[Editorial: "Elections, the Press, Government, and Politicians!"]

[Excerpts] Now that the elections are barely 101 days away, the leaders of some defunct political parties are saying that if the elections are held on a nonparty basis they will boycott them. These leaders are presenting a horrible picture of the repercussions of the nonparty elections and are advising their members and the people not to participate in the elections or the polling.

We feel that at this juncture, when the process of elections according to President Zia will be completed by March 1985 and the people are mentally prepared for them, the statements by some political leaders on a boycott of the elections portray a negative attitude. We have awaited these elections for the past 8 years and now when there is hope of elections in the country, it is wrong to create obstacles. It is true that elections should be held on a party basis; but since the president has said that nonparty elections should be held, then there must be some advantages or problems on the basis of which he has made this decision. It is our opinion that in comparison with martial law, an elected government of the people, good or bad, will be far more desirable. We have been exposed to martial law far too long. As a result, we lack democratic training and are being humiliated before democratic nations. An end to this state of affairs is necessary as soon as possible and that can only be possible when the elections take place in a peaceful manner and the 1973 constitution is reinstated.

Following the separation of East Pakistan, the Pakistani press was deprived of the strength of its eastern wing and the government's control on the national press trust tightened with the result that the nominal freedom of the press has dwindled. On the one hand, the government's demands and rights are increasing, while on the other hand, the politicians are complaining that the newspapers should prepare the ground for them as they did in 1968-69 and 1977 even if a General Yahya or a civilian martial law administrator comes to power. The government's patience is brimming over as well. The rulers do not even want the newspapers to mention the names of the politicians. So it is not difficult to imagine what the newspapers are undergoing!

CSO: 4656/29

## COMMENTARY ON 'PRE-ELECTION FEARS'

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 25 Oct 84 p 5

[Text]

WHILE TALKING to newsmen in Lahore recently, the CMLA-President, General Ziaul Haq, again elaborated on the regime's rationale for restricting the election campaign to an extremely short period. A prolonged election campaign could lead to tension and a law-and-order situation, he said. There is room for more than one argument on this point. A brief election campaign or a prolonged electoral process are relative concepts that have little absolute merit or demerit. Where normal political activity continues uninterrupted, elections can be conducted after a few days of preparation, as snap general elections are indeed held in functioning democracies. The Constitutions of different States provide for a few weeks' break between the dissolution of a sitting parliament and the election of its successor. Whether similarly short periods can serve the definition of a proper election in a country where normal political process has remained disrupted for years on end is highly debatable.

The regime's apprehensions of the election campaign assuming undesirable forms are a legacy of Pakistan's peculiarly unenviable political record. All governments in this country, especially since the Muslim League debacle

in the 1954 elections in the then East Pakistan, suffered from pre-election anxiety, though for reasons other than the ones they publicly proclaimed. In the second half of the fifties the country's rulers realised that it was easier to frame a Constitution than facing the electorate; so compelling were their fears of a general election that they preferred to pave the way for the imposition of Martial Law. The elaborate preparations made by Ayub Khan to avoid tensions during the 1962 and 1965 elections are well remembered; in the end the very concept of election was distorted. It was again their fear of the election campaign that made his advisers draw up plans for the "Development Decade", but the upheaval that swept him, his Constitution, and his system of basic democracies away was not born of an election campaign. A myth has been fostered that the East Pakistan crisis was the result of the long time the Yahya regime had allowed for political campaigning. The country may have been sharply polarised in the pre-election period but the fatal process of the country's disintegration started *after* the elections had been held. In 1977 no unduly long time was given for election campaigning — the Assembly was dissolved early in

January and polls were held on March 7 -, and the law and order situation arose *after* the elections. In the light of this record it is clear that political upheavals have occurred in Pakistan when the result of election has not been accepted either by Authority or the public.

Assuming, for the sake of argument, that tensions witnessed in post-election periods had their origins in pre-election campaigns, the need to correctly interpret historical evidence cannot be gainsaid. The essential question is whether tension and aggravation of law-and-order situation are unavoidable concomitants of an election campaign or whether the recurrence of the phenomenon in Pakistan can be ascribed to the peculiar circumstances in which elections have been held. The foregoing account confirms the universally accepted premise that where people are allowed to make their democratic choice after long periods of depoliticalised existence, the pent-up emotions, aspirations and personal ambitions are bound to burst out in explosions, that the break in political continuity forces the contenders for power to draw up new terms of reference, and that candidates tend to move across uncharted ground under extremist banners. The dangerous agitations that follow are the result of the blocking of political process and no amount of trimming of election campaigns can avert the threat. Even if elections can somehow be held peacefully the lava will spill over whenever the lid is removed. The choice is, thus, reduced to letting the steam out before the ballots are cast or deferring the inevitable till after the election. It is not a difficult choice and mature societies have no hesitation in opting for pre-polls excitement rather than the aftermath of 'controlled' elections. The reason is that

the worst that a full-fledged election campaign can throw up is a law-and-order situation and this presents fewer risks to a State than political crises generated by deviations from democratic norms. That is why large-scale disorder in Assam did not prevent elections in India in 1980 nor are the present disorders in East Punjab and elsewhere likely to disrupt the forthcoming polls.

Unfortunately, another factor has been forced into the pre-election debate - the security aspect. Again, this factor must not be blown out of proportion. For one thing, evidence on the ground does not suggest an imminent threat to the country's security and, for another, the CMLA has unequivocally declared that tension along the borders shall not interfere with the election programme. Even if the external threats to national integrity were genuine, elections would fortify the people's capacity to defend their homeland because they would serve as a means of mobilising the population, without which no country can defend itself. After all, nations have been going to polls during wars, the latest examples being of Iran and Iraq.

The risks in allotting little time for the coming election campaign are especially grave. Apart from the routine controversies that suppression of political process only postpones and never resolves, quite a few critical issues are likely to erupt whenever free expression of views is allowed. Everything from the country's ideological reorientation to the demolition of welfarism and the division of the national cake is bound to be debated. Above all, the changes in the 1973 Constitution already made or those believed to be on the anvil have almost destroyed the consensus on the

federal structure that was the principal achievement of the last Constitutional accord. A new understanding could emerge but only after considerably heated exchanges. For this it is necessary to let the steam out well before the polling time so that tempers have had time to cool and saner views could crystallise and gain supremacy. Once this necessary stage has been covered the possibility of anything untoward happening between the announcement of the election schedule and the casting of votes will be reduced to the minimum. The din and heat of normal democratic activity has nothing to be afraid of. It is the lack of such a process that must be dreaded like the disease of the bone-marrow. The supreme interests of the Pakistan State dictate immediate revival of popular political debate. That is the only way to lay pre-election fears to rest.

CSO: 4600/84

# COMMENTARY ON CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN ISLAM, NATIONAL ARMY

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 25 Oct 84 pp 7-8

[Text] UNLESS PAKISTANI MUSLIMS have decided to live in isolation from the rest of the Ummah and ignore whatever goes on in other Muslim States, they will find in some of the latest reports from Libya, Sudan and Indonesia considerable food for thought.

Last month, a Libyan Government spokesman announced in Tripoli that President Qaddafi had relaxed his stand on the administration's powers to enforce prohibition. He was quoted as saying that it was a matter between the Libyans and God whether they wanted to consume liquor in the privacy of their homes. They could do in their homes what they liked and the police would have no right to interfere.

## Indonesian Plan

Then came reports of General Suharto's plan to substitute Pancasila for Islam as the guiding philosophy of the Indonesian State. The Bill introduced in Parliament to achieve this purpose, details of which have been carried by a section of the Pakistani Press, envisages far-reaching changes in Indonesian people's life and the State's attitude towards religion. The proposed law will ban the teaching of Islam, or any other religion, as an ideology or a way of life. All organised programmes including those meant to educate the people in Islamic tenets in mosques and homes will be dismantled and so will be all religious differentiations by name, emblem, dress, place of worship and burial, as being contrary to the State ideology of Pancasila. Even the abolition of separate graveyards for religious denominations is on the agenda. Already one school has dropped 'Islam' from its name and at another examination, greeting 'Assalam-o-Alaikum' as something peculiar to Islam, contrary to the Pancasila ideology. The establishment is reported to be preparing for a 'jihad' against Islam to secularise the State and the society.

In Sudan, General Nimeiri has ordered a campaign against corruption and immorality. He has also announced the special Char'at courts to deal with these matters.

## Reasons Matter

These reports cannot but compel the Pakistani people to wonder as to what is going on in these Muslim countries. They may also have reason to feel brotherly concern over some of these developments. However, what they must not avoid is a serious study of the circumstances and the reasons that have compelled these three staunchly Muslim countries to make ideological adjustments.

The case of Colonel Qaddafi's directive is the easiest to understand. He is not compromising his belief in the Islamic injunction against drinking, he has only realised the practical necessity of drawing a line between the State's responsibility to maintain public order (which means the drinkers will invite police intervention if found drinking in public or indulging in what Pakistani FIR writers describe as 'ghul ghapara') and its lack of right to interfere with one's personal attitude to religious obligations. Thus, the Libyan leader has merely reverted to the practice evolved in many Muslim States before the latest trend towards fundamentalism appeared.

The Indonesian proposals go beyond anything attempted in any Muslim country with the possible exception of Ataturk's republic in its early phase. Obviously, the idea is to eliminate everything that is considered to be at variance with the Suharto regime's concept of nationalism. In this case, as indeed in that of Sudan, the existence of sizable non-Muslim minorities and the diktat of the aid-givers (particularly the USA, which seems to have lost some of its zeal to promote Islamic fundamentalism) have certainly influenced the regime's thinking.

## Old Problems

However, the problems faced by Indonesia and Sudan provide contemporary parallels to the reverses suffered by Islam at the hands of monarchs centuries ago. Minorities, compulsions of external relations, and aid-receivers' obligations are not new problems. They have been faced by Muslim States throughout their history. The Ottomans, who considered their empire as the genuine Khilafat and had a Sheikh-ul-Islam who could depose the Khalifa, responded to similar realities when they drew upon the Swiss and the French codes while drafting the Ottoman Islamic Code. But obviously they did not go far enough and when the Turks woke up to their plight after the First War they blamed rigid enforcement of dogma for their military debacles, political decay and social backwardness. Besides, there are host of problems which a modern Muslim society has to tackle and which demand a critical reassessment of the theological outlook--like relations with international financial institutions, development of science and technology, the emancipation of women, etc. These issues cannot be solved anywhere without redefining the separate spheres of religion and State, as was said by the Quaid-i-Azam, and reconstructing the religious thought, as emphasised by Iqbal.

It could also be argued that, apart from the pressures referred to above, both Indonesia and Sudan have had difficulties in evolving truly democratic institutions which alone can create a climate required to thrash out national issues.

including the ideological ones. Indeed, Muslim societies all over the world have blocked the way to their progress by imagining a contradiction between Islam and democratic management of national affairs.

They must, above all, realise the need to resist the temptation to exploit religion to overcome domestic political problems which can be solved only through political means. The lesson for the whole Islamic world is that any Muslim society which tries to satisfy the modern demands on the State and the individual within the rigid mould of a traditional religion commits its future generations to upheavals of unforeseeable magnitude.

CSC: 4600/84

## REGIME URGED TO MAKE CERTAIN DOCUMENTS PUBLIC

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 25 Oct 84 p 7

[Text] A BOOK-LAUNCHING ceremony in Lahore last week gave two prominent participants in the traumatic events of the seventies a welcome opportunity to reminisce, and one hopes all those who care to learn from history, Hegel's dictum notwithstanding, will not hesitate to draw appropriate conclusions.

Mr. Agha Shahi's narration of the moves and counter-moves that ultimately resulted in Pakistan's success in bringing the prisoners of the 1971 war back home underlined the victory of diplomacy backed by the united will of the people. But Mr. Shahi largely covered the ground with which at least well-informed sections of the public are familiar. The events he recounted have not slipped out of the people's memory--at least not of the majority's. Whether any credit is due to the civilian alternative to the Yahya regime that this country could fall back upon is something that could well form the theme of Mr. Shahi's next lecture on the subject.

## 'Inside Story'

Considerable more forthright than Mr. Shahi was Admiral (Retd.) Mohammad Sharif whose observations reflected a mixture of the injured pride of the soldier and the anger of the patriotic citizen betrayed. He regretted that "no lesson has been drawn from the East Pakistan debacle", and added that "nations which forget their history are thrown into the limbo of oblivion. His grievance is that those responsible for the 1971 tragedy have not been brought to account. Obviously he referred to adventurers who landed the country and its armed forces in a mess by ignoring the advice of men who put their ears to the ground and by failing to realise that amidst a hostile population the armed forces could neither enforce a military solution of the East Bengal crisis nor face external pressure.

One would agree with Admiral Sharif that history must be respected but he may be aware of this nation's misfortune that it does not have the history from which the right lessons could be drawn. Admiral Sharif has promised to give "the inside story" in a book he is going to write. All power to his pen. "The effort is worth making even if the writer's version of truth provokes a controversy and causes uneasiness to a few small hearts under respectable looking draperies. Not only Admiral Sharif but all others who are capable of

restructuring, the events of 1971 and the long process of which they were the logical culmination, have a duty to inform the people of the horrendous failures of yesterdays that have blighted our todays.

#### Hamood Report

Reference was also made to the Hamoodur Rahman Commission-- one of the most intriguing mysteries in Pakistan's recent history. Nobody can think of a single legitimate reason why the Commission's Report should have been suppressed. There was a time when many prominent leaders considered its publication a matter of life and death for the country. What made them change their mind? Why has the Report been forgotten? It was never presumed that the Hamoodur Rahman Commission would have the possibilities of revealing the whole truth or that its findings would be fully in accord with the conclusions reached by the people. Rarely does any commission's report achieve that distinction. But if the Commission had been even half as forthright as the Munir Inquiry Committee of 1953 it could have added to the people's understanding of the issues. Not only the Commission's Report but also the entire evidence presented before it ought to be published.

#### Official Records

Something else could also be done to enable the people to acquire a rational understanding of their past and their present in a truly historical perspective. The whole attitude towards the teaching of history in educational institutions could be given a positive, nationalist orientation and the books of tales prescribed for different classes in the name of history textbooks rewritten. It is also time to consider the desirability of throwing official records open to research scholars and journalists. A beginning could be made by removing the embargo on classified documents that are more than 20 or 25 years old. That will give the people some idea of the issues this State has faced from its very inception and the way its custodians have handled or mishandled them.

Practical-minded people would say that history will continue to be ignored until a climate of respect for truth and the common man's right to information has been built up. And that hardly appears probable if even the Quaid-i-Azam papers cannot be made available to research scholars. But that does not mean the path of reason should not be pointed out even if in the transitory present access to it is barred.

CSO: 4660/84

# SUPPRESSION OF INFORMATION BY AUTHORITIES DENOUNCED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 25 Oct 84 p 9

[Article by Makhdoom Ali Khan]

[Text] THE NIGHT of 10th Muharran, was adrift with ugly rumours of lootings, arson and killings, of sectarian violence, of the death of reason. Something not totally unexpected, for there is too much emphasis these days---even officially--on religious bigotry, yet something which saddened and disturbed. One heard from friends living in the affected areas that a crefew had been imposed but the radio and television communicated nothing.

After a day's holiday the papers came. In my naivette I thought at last I would know as to what had actually happened, and was disappointed. Of course, there were bold screaming headlines about Hindu-Muslim riots in India but for what was happening between Muslims here I had to carefully scan the pages in order to eventually discover a one-column caption stuck in an obscure corner: "4 die in city incidents: Press note."

## Gazettes

The "incident" as such was not reported, what had gone into its making left uninvestigated. But this, too, should have been expected. When it is left to the discretion of a few to determine what the people should or should not read and truth is regarded as a security hazard, newspapers no longer remain a source of information--they are relegated to the position of "Press advice" gazettes.

Days before the incident, an eveningr had announced the Sind Government's discovery of a plan to create disturbances on 10th Muharran. But in spite of this knowledge based on information from what were described as "reliable sources", little was done to forestall what later happened. Hardly any protective or precautionary measures were taken save a warning to the Press not to publish any news of sectarian violence. Later, however wide coverage was given to a statement of President Khamenei of Iran that making of Alams and Tazia was un-Islamic. The Iranian Consul-General, perturbed by this attempt to recruit his President in support of local sectarian causes, issued the text of President Ali Khamenei's interview, "I consider the Ashura ceremonies as one of the most blessed Islamic rituals...." So unaccustomed have

we grown to a participatory society that we concentrate on the differences and what divides, completely ignoring the commonalities and throwing tolerance to the winds. For a mere difference in some rituals, for a minor divergence in form we are ready to kill and happy to die.

#### Hallmark of Police

This "if the people do not know then it does not happen approach", however, was not peculiar to the Ashura incident, it has become the hall mark of the present information policy. The other day I read in the papers that five bandits were killed and 88 persons arrested when police fired in retaliation upon two vehicles from which it was being fired upon. I wondered about the nature of the vehicles which could carry 93 passengers and whether there was any casual connection between this incident and the immediate closure of Sind University. And since when did the police become so efficient as to dare arrest 93 'miscreants' armed with Kalashnikovs and pistols? Unofficial sources seemed to be nearer to the truth than the "5 killed in firing: Press note." These stated that the persons were students of Sind University, travelling from the campus in two buses, who were stopped at a check-post. They refused to allow the guardians of our security to search them. The Press note was the result. In the middle ground between the publicised half-truth and the obscure truth is buried many a reality.

#### Only Hope Left

In the face of the increasing violence, the CMIA's statement that there is no room for opposition in Islam, growing obscurantism, the hardening of narrow parochial attitudes, the deteriorating state of our economy and the state of abandonment in which the nation seems complacently settled, there is little room for hope. But moving from shadow to shadow, from darkness to darkness, one must go on hoping. In penumbral times a little straw, a ray of light, a small happening must be clutched at to rejuvenate the spirit, to revise the hopes. To many Jatoli's freedom after more than a year of imprisonment is such an event. They are interpreting it as a sign of general relaxation in the country's political atmosphere. A symbol of hope that one day the country will return to democracy that elections will be held in March, 1985. I would like to disagree, to express my scepticism, to point towards the record of past promises but it is best not to interfere with hope. Particularly when it seems to be the only thing left.

CSO: 4600/84

## LETTER WRITER COMPLAINS ABOUT LACK OF RIGHT TO DISSENT

Lahore VIEWPOINT in England 25 Oct 84 pp 3, 4

[Text] WHETHER THE POLICY zealously being pursued for the last seven years is sincerely motivated or is born of the instinct for survival is beside the point. The plan to make society conform to Islamic values has yet to find enlightened support or credence. While the present is in a state of flux, the future looks ominous to some who may not constitute the majority but traditionally influence the thinking and behaviour of society. The priorities of the Islamisation process and its trend breed cynicism, if not despair.

With all the punitive Islamic laws promulgated years ago, a hand or a foot of a thief or a bandit is yet to be amputated, while crime surges to heights unknown in the past. For all the sermons blaring from the throne and pulpit, individual and collective morality is at its nadir. For all the money distributed in Zakat (collected almost wholly by impounding a part of the interest earned on bank deposits) the economic system continues to widen the gulf between the rich and the poor. PLS (profit-loss-sharing) has become a sanctimonious acronym only to satisfy the conscience of a few as it brings, predictably, somewhat higher, yet assured, rate of return on hoarded money. Alcohol has been banned but its clandestine consumption has risen and, in the bargain, to its standing shame the country has gained world-wide notoriety as the biggest supplier of hashish and heroin to the rest of the world, while its own youth are succumbing to these drugs at a faster rate than they did to alcohol when it was sold in the shop round the corner.

Prejudices of all descriptions and corruption, both rampant and sanctified, deny justice and basic rights to citizens, especially the weak and non-conformist among them. Society has come to acquiesce in standards which it abhorred and rejected long ago. It is like an inexorable march with fatalistic resignation into the twilight of extinction. In this environment of gloom, one should be still prepared to believe the men at the helm and those riding the bandwagon that the sphinx of justice and equality would rise from the ashes of the system we have destroyed. But the price paid on the way to the Utopia is heavy. Fanaticism, intellectual interdiction, social taboos, superstition, idolatrous rituals, all practised in the name of religion have stunted innovation and ingenuity in all walks of life. Diversity of talent has been its first and most precious victim. Could a regime of this kind produce a statesman like Jinnah, politicians like Suhrawardy and Nazimuddin; poets like Josh

and Faiz (Ghalib and Iqbal are born but once in centuries, even in eras of liberal thought), teachers like Patras and Sufi Tabassum; journalists like Chiragh Hasan Hasrat and Abdul Majid Salik, soldiers like Akhtar Malik and Iftikhar, judges like Mohammad Bux Memon and Kayani, jurists like Zafarullah and Munir, lawyers like Manzur Qadir, artists like Sedequain and Chughtai, bureaucrats like Ahmeds (Nazir, Aziz and M.M.), artistes like Roshan Ara and Nur Jehan? In the reigning moral order they would have all been silence, excommunicated, striped if at all allowed to live. Their talent, versatility, patriotism, heroic courage would carry no premium today. By stages they are all being consigned to oblivion.

The official media has the temerity of blacking out or censoring the Quaid's pronouncements on the nature of Pakistan's the landless and their right to reveal. Their personal and social habits, their views, their beliefs, their humanity and human weaknesses are viewed with disdain. Those among them who have faded into history or those whose contribution has been overwhelmed by bigotry and distortion are being openly condemned or disowned. The hand of obscurantism now seems to be stretching towards the Quaid with impunity. Must we play down Abdus Salam's Nobel Prize winning feat because we do not agree with his views on religion? Or decide that since Josh was an agnostic, his matchless poetic thought must not reach the people? Must Faiz live in exile because he is in agony at the agony of the poor? The whole nation is falling into the abyss of uniformity. A hand wielding the stick, a tongue dripping with invective and a pocket stuffed with money hold sway.

For how long will we have a Jalib, a Palejo, a Meraj Mohammad Khan suffer privation and torture because they uphold the right of dissent? All these flames will be soon extinguished. No others will be ignited. The genius has gone into exile. Light is out. What a price we have paid to herald a new order which remains ever so elusive! The intellectual content and decency of a bourgeois society have been sacritant into a mirage across a wasteland of fanaticism.

Human ingenuity and investiveness flourish only in an atmosphere of free thinking and tolerance. It is the intellectual endeavour of free and inquisitive minds which imparts vitality to a society to endure and move forward. The hallmark of fascism is suppression of dissent in every form. Though the historic justification for it has been based on superiority of one or the other kind--none survived after a short-lived upsurge. A trend of fascism drawing its justification from a religious order may destroy that order with its own destruction.

The price has already been paid. Every passing day adds to the tally. It is yet time to reverse the tide peacefully to avoid its being thrown back by violence. And then the baby of religion would also have been thrown with the bath water authoritarianism out of the window.--RAFIQUE AHMAD, Lahore.

CSO: 4600/34

INCREASE IN OIL OUTPUT REPORTED

GF211308 Rawalpindi THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 4 Nov 84 p 8

[Text] Badin, 3 Nov--Twelve oil wells are in successful operation in various areas of Badin District out of which seven are in Khaskheli, four in village Leghari and one in Chak No 10.

Five thousand barrels of oil from these wells is being daily fetched to Karachi refinery through large size (NLC) tankers.

A spokesman of Union Texas Pakistan said the oil production can be enhanced but the transport facilities are inadequate.

To overcome the transportation difficulties, a pipe line will be soon laid from oil wells to Karachi Oil Refinery, the spokesman added.

It is learned that SSI, a London survey company, is shortly starting survey oil in Matli Taluqa. Drilling work for a well in Chak No 10 of Golarchi Taluqa will also be started next month for which machinery is being transported to the site. The first well in this area is already producing oil and chances of success for another well are firm.

Assistant General Manager Union Texas Pakistan, Mr Jafri said local inhabitants are being provided employment and training is also being imparted to them in oil exploration work.

He said more facilities are also being provided to the local residents. These include, supply of furniture, fans and construction of a hospital in Khario Ganwar Shahar, by Union Texas Company.

He said the company has also provided Rs 50,000 each to Union Council Khario Ganwar and District Council Badin.

Mr Jafri thanked the local administration for its cooperation.

CSO: 4600/97

GREATER AIRPORT SECURITY MEASURES REPORTED

GF211316 Rawalpindi THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 6 Nov 84 p 9

[Text] Karachi, 5 Nov--ASF [Airport Security Force] personnel at all the country's 24 domestic and international airports have been placed on a "state of high alert" and security has been stepped up through the implementation of a number of measures ranging from the installation of "spy" TV cameras to specialised training.

In an interview, the Airport Security Force commander, Brigadier Tariq Rafiq, disclosed that all ASF had been placed on heightened alert status two months ago, and would remain on this footing for an indefinite period.

He noted that the 3,816 strong ASF, which came into being in mid-1976, was responsible for security at all the 24 small and large airports scattered over the country, which by their very nature were vulnerable to attacks by terrorists and attempts at infiltration by would-be aircraft hijackers.

While the task seemed straightforward enough, in reality it was complex, with round-the-clock checks and controls having to be exercised over thousands of daily incoming, outgoing and transit passengers, as well as staff of commercial airlines and various agencies stationed at the civil airports (such as immigration, customs, health, civil aviation agency, etc).

Besides, the design of the existing airport terminal buildings was deficient from the security viewpoint, with the ASF having to guard 19 different entry gates into the Karachi Airport alone, he added.

In this connection, Brig Rafiq pointed out that at Zurich Airport (in Switzerland) there was only one entry gate, and this simplified things greatly as far as security went.

(Previously at Karachi Airport, there were 22 different entry gates, but the ASF has managed to get their number reduced to 19, and is trying to pare this figure down further, but there is some resistance from other agencies.)

The ASF chief explained that four different security methods were being employed by his agency, with some of the more sophisticated techniques (especially those requiring expensive equipment) being limited to the larger airports at present.

Firstly, ASF law enforcement teams--some in uniform and some in plainclothes--were working day and night at all the airports, with all personnel having received specialised training in anti-terrorist and hijacking techniques.

Secondly, ASF intelligence plainclothes staff were permanently stationed at all airports, and these personnel worked in close liaison with such bodies as the intelligence bureau, special branch, local police, etc.

Thirdly, metal detectors were used for personal checks of all persons (passengers and airlines employees, etc).

Entering the airport area and tarmac, while X-ray machines checked passenger baggage and other cargo, and special explosive detectors were used on "suspect baggage".

Fourthly, the ASF has recently installed closed-circuit TV "spy" camera networks at three major airports--Islamabad, Lahore and Karachi--and a similar system is being installed at Peshawar and will be in operation by the end of this month.

Brig Rafiq elaborated on this latter point and said in Karachi the closed-circuit TV network used cameras (both hidden and open) stationed at different spots to pick up persons approaching Karachi Airport from a point near the Midway Hotel, and then tracked them up to the car park and from there into the first and second terminal buildings and kept a constant watch until the passenger actually boarded his aircraft.

Hidden TV cameras are placed in many public rooms within the first and second terminal buildings at Karachi Airport, with ASF personnel monitoring them constantly.

Special equipment enables VCR films to be made from the pictures being received through any particular camera.

Brig Rafiq also said that a new reward and punishment system being employed since the last two months had brought about a significant improvement in the alertness displayed by ASF personnel.

CSO: 4600/97

COMMENTARY ON NEW LEADERSHIP IN INDIA

GF191314 Rawalpindi HAIDAR in Urdu 6 Nov 84 p 3

[Editorial: "India's Internal Political Ferment and its Result"]

[Excerpt] While there is still international unrest in India, the new prime minister has begun speaking against Pakistan in a harsh tone. Mrs Gandhi had not yet been cremated when Rajiv Gandhi spoke to U.S. Secretary of State Shultz about U.S. arms to Pakistan, expressing apprehension on this measure. He also criticized Pakistan's nuclear program.

The Indian premier's attitude indicates that he is even more of an extremist than his mother. Indira Gandhi was a polished stateswoman and had the tolerant nature characteristic of a seasoned politician. Rajiv is a mere novice and has been given the mantle of premiership without any experience or practice. Under such circumstances, the formulators of Pakistan's foreign policy have serious responsibilities. They must consider the latest developments and emphasize Pakistan's foreign policy and consolidate it in order to keep peace in the region.

Considering the extent of unrest in India today, the new Indian leadership may do anything to try to control the situation, even disturb the conditions on our borders. The nation should remain mentally prepared for any such eventuality.

Despite the new prime minister's harsh tone, it is our wish that the genocide abates in India and our best wishes are with the Indian leaders. Human life is precious, whatever the ideology or creed professed. We hope that the new Indian leadership will be successful in bridling the bloodbath and arson. We can only pray for them.

CSO: 4656/29

CRACKDOWN ON ILLEGAL ALIENS URGED

GF191042 Rawalpindi HAIDAR in Urdu 8 Nov 84 p 3

[Editorial: "Illegal Foreign Residents"]

[Text] According to a report, there are 130,000 foreigners residing in the country illegally. The majority of these are Indians, Bangladeshis, and Iranians. There are also hundreds of people of other nationalities also illegally resident in the country. It reported that 21,000 Bangladeshis are unregistered.

Such a large number of foreigners residing in the country illegally seems to be glaring evidence of the carelessness and incompetence of those organizations which are responsible for these affairs and which should ensure that no alien remains in the country after the expiry of his visa. Such illegal aliens are creating economic and other problems for the country, and there certainly must be some among them who are here for espionage purposes or on a special mission, and a large number are probably committing crimes. We are amazed that our Interior Ministry has made no move and is strangely silent. We wish to draw the attention of Federal Interior Minister Mahmood Haroon to this dangerous state of affairs and we request that he launch a crackdown campaign to locate such individuals and to arrest and prosecute them under the immigration laws.

CSO: 4656/29

## WALI KHAN'S STATEMENTS IN INDIA DENOUNCED

GF191207 Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 13 Nov 84 p 3

[Editorial: "The Utterances of Mr Wali Khan"]

[Text] Khan Abdul Wali Khan, the son of "the frontier Gandhi," [Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan] who claims to be a Pakistani politician, has scattered a few "jewels" while sitting in India while present at the funeral of Mrs Indira Gandhi. This is nothing new, nor should it be surprising or annoying to anybody in Pakistan. Every Pakistani is well aware of the true attitude of the whole family of the frontier Gandhi. His family members express similar views even when they are in Pakistan, within the same borders of Pakistan to which they owe their respect, fame, wealth, security, and peace. The country has never asked them for anything in return. If Wali Khan was not a citizen of Pakistan he would have nothing at all. However, even if he continues to make such statements, objections should not arise in Pakistan, within a nation that has always considered Wali Khan as one of its citizens and members.

However, if one must object it should be over the fact that Wali Khan made such statements while visiting the capital of a neighboring country. The neighbor has been until now openly inimical toward Pakistan, and has also committed armed aggression against Pakistan on several occasions. India has not so far sincerely accepted the existence of Pakistan and has been rejecting every offer of friendship by Pakistan. Wali Khan also is well aware that India is no friend of Pakistan. If Wali Khan considered himself a Pakistani he would have avoided such nonsensical utterances. They are indeed nonsensical. How else should one interpret them?

If Wali Khan has a complaint against the Pakistani Government or its people he should limit his differences to within the Pakistani borders rather than going over to the opponents of Pakistan and seeking redress there. Even an ignorant peasant knows this much, that he should not complain to outsiders about his own relations and kinsmen. Wali Khan is a Pashtun; among Pashtuns this kind of sense is much more developed. Has his own tribe ever asked for help from another tribe for redressing grievances within his own tribal members? If not, then Wali Khan should speak out if he does not consider himself a member of the Pakistan tribe. By making such utterances Wali Khan has in fact sued his Muslim brothers and his country in the court of the non-Muslims.

Wali Khan on the occasion of the demise of the Indian Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi, by blowing up steam against Pakistan, has proved that there is a great unimity of views between him and Rajiv Gandhi regarding Pakistan. Rajiv, during the mourning period for his mother also repeated his accusations against Pakistan even while the president of Pakistan was still present in that country. Wali Khan--making hay while the sun shines--Also chose the occasion for the same purpose. Not content with that, he also tried to create the impression that he was in fact speaking as a true representative of Pakistan. In fact he has not only hit at the ideology of Pakistan but has also ridiculed the people engaged in introducing the Islamic system in Pakistan over which every Pakistani is in agreement.

However, Wali Khan did one thing correct: The thing that brings his father bags full of votes. Wali Khan surely proved true to his origins. He ignored the India that has gathered stockpiles of arms from all over the world and has made the whole country an arsenal. Wali Khan instead attacked Pakistan to acquire arms. It is a well-known fact that there can be no comparison between Pakistan and India in the way of armament or that there is any doubt about from whom India is gathering these arms.

As far as recognition of the Babrak Karmal regime as the legitimate government of Afghanistan is concerned it should come afterwards, after the people of Afghanistan have accepted it as such.

Wali Khan, although he lives in the frontier province, probably does not know how the Afghan people are fighting to keep free, or how millions of Afghans have left their country as refugees seeking refuge in a neighboring country. It is true that today Pakistan has no elected government. However, the administration is indeed run by the army, an army of Pakistanis, while Karmal is ruling with the help of 125,000 Soviet soldiers. Whether or not the Karmal regime is legitimate will be tested after the Soviet army has left the country. The government that is unacceptable to the people cannot be accepted as legitimate. And as far as the accusation that Pakistan was interfering in Afghanistan is concerned, it is an utterance similar to what India and the Soviet Union have been saying regarding the matter.

The most grave charge that Wali Khan has made is that Pakistan is not one country: There is no sentiment of national unity in Pakistan. Wali Khan is trying to dismember the country and encourage a handful of cessionists. It is surprising that he made that statement in a country where movement such as free Kalistan, free Mizoram, free Assam, and free Kohanistan are going strong. However, no small time Indian leader is unwilling to admit that there are any cessionist movements within India. Indian leaders seems to claim that the country is united. Comparing this with Wali Khan's utterances, his true stature is revealed. However, the surprise comes when Wali Khan insists on being a national leader and presents his party as a national party; and when he visits other provinces in Pakistan he preaches unity of the country. His wife Begam Naseem Wali Khan actively works for the Tehrik Nizam-e Mostafa [the prophet's system], in which movement his party and his wife both are playing active roles.

In view of all this one is more surprised at the nonsensical utterances and boasting of Wali Khan. It appears that in order to draw the attention of the Indian press to himself he has been talking without thinking like a person without a mind or intelligence. Wali Khan's ingratitude for his country is exposed at the very moment when we discover that Pakistan placed no restriction on his going to India. But instead of expressing gratitude, he has subtly admitted that his trip to India was such a sad occasion that no restrictions could be put on him. Here Wali Khan has sprung another surprise. He gives the impression that because of that sad occasion in the neighboring country, the Pakistani officials became paralyzed and were unable to judge what they were doing.

CSO: 4656/30

## COMMENTARY SEES CONTINUATION OF ANTI-PAKISTAN STANCE IN INDIA

GF170800 Lahore NAWA-E WAQT in Urdu 14 Nov 84 p 3

[Editorial: "We--and Rajiv's Fresh Announcement!"]

[Excerpts] The Indian prime minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, has said that he wishes to forge relations with neighbors based on the spirit of peace, friendship, and cooperation and in accordance with the principles of nonintervention, peaceful coexistence, and nonalignment and he offers Pakistan the same. But in the same breath he has said that the arsenals of modern weapons stockpiled by neighboring countries and in the Indian Ocean are a deterrent to peace and good will. He said this in his first address to the nation at the end of a 12-day mourning period for his "ruling" mother.

Mr Rajiv Gandhi's address can be considered tantamount to a public declaration of his government's policy and that he takes after his mother. This is proved by the fact that he has inherited the trait of double-dealing from his mother whose long-range vision was alright, but who suffered from myopia as far as issues near at hand were concerned. The late Mrs Gandhi used to carry on a litany on the alleged and supposed stockpiles of arms which according to her, were accumulating in neighboring countries, especially Pakistan, but she was unable to see the huge piles of sophisticated armaments which she had purchased from the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France, and the FRG, and which were being added to by India's 40 ordnance factories.

We will not have to wait long to perceive the nature and reality of Mr Rajiv Gandhi's offer of ties based on peace, security, and friendship. On the basis of his allusion to the policies of his grandfather and mother, we can say that the hypocrisy, belligerence, and schizophrenia that characterized their policies will also be part of his policy. In any case, if he decides to base his policy on his professed principles of peace, friendship, and cooperation in the spirit of nonintervention, peaceful coexistence, and nonalignment, Pakistan will not hesitate to respond positively and express its appreciation, whatever the reaction of other countries.

Whatever we possess in the form of wealth, opportunity, honor and dignity, security, wealth and resources, is due to Pakistan's freedom and is based on Pakistan's security and independence. [Sentence as received] Hence, whatever Mr Rajiv Gandhi may say or do, we should continue to analyze objectively, but all our attention and efforts should be concentrated on setting our house in order and in promoting internal national unity.

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